

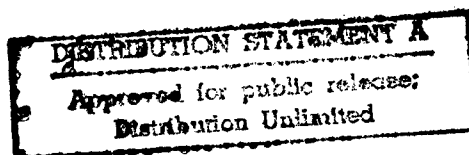
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12 APRIL 1988



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CONTENTS

12 APRIL 1988

POLITICAL

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czech Non-Communist Party Calls for Socialist Democracy [SVOBODNE SLOVO, 27 Jan 88] 1

HUNGARY

Wide Reach of 30,000 People's Control Inspectors Described 1

POLAND

Association Law Discussion Refers to Democratization Efforts, Obligations 3
Current 'Propaganda of Reform' Lists Complaints, Few Answers 6
Public Opinion of Police Behavior, Efficiency Polled; Results Noted 7
National Convention, Orders for Army School Agitprop Chiefs 8
Civilian Army Employees Union Focus on Wages, Fringe Benefits 9
POLITYKA Pleased With Apparent New Access to Soviet Readers 10
 Leningrad Reader Corrects Soviet Errors 10
 From the Editor 10
 Passent's Offending Passage 11

ROMANIA

Democracy, Human Rights Under Socialism 11
Yugoslav Daily Discusses Status of Minorities 30

YUGOSLAVIA

Possibilities for Multiparty System Reviewed 31

ECONOMIC

POLAND

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 'Briefs' Column 36
 Last Week in Poland 36
Ideological Justifications for Reform Reviewed, Other Questions Posed 36
Ministry of Labor and Social Policy Order on Occupational Shortages 37
Attempt To Measure Industrial Efficiency Reported 38
Changes Urged in Rules for Companies With Foreign Capital, 'Debt-for-Cash Swap' 39
Case Studies Show Foreign Loans Ease Machine Stock Disinvestment, Aid Exports 40
Solutions Offered on Use of Polonia Investments, Legal Issues Noted
 [Zbigniew Dobosiewicz; TRYBUNA LUDU, 18 Jan 88] 41

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czech Non-Communist Party Calls for Socialist Democracy

24000061 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech
27 Jan 88 p 3

[From the Proceedings of the 4th Session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party: "Toward Consistent Democratization"]

[Text] Further intensifying socialist democracy in the process of restructuring the economic mechanism was the topic of the presentation by L. Kapitola, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. We have extracted several passages.

The point of the pervasive transformations—those we are living through and those yet to come—is to make it possible to elevate our socialist society to a qualitatively higher level, where it would most fully exploit all the advantages of socialism and the opportunities offered by it.

An immensely significant area of these transformations is associated with the development and refinement of socialist democracy. Its foundation in our present condition is the National Front. We know that the National Front was born from initiative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and took shape under its leadership during the struggle against the Fascist occupiers that was aimed at the formation of the socially and nationally unified republic supported by friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union; we know that the National Front played a significant role during the dramatic days of February 1948 and later during the period of socialist construction. As the voluntary union of political parties, social, and special-interest organizations, the National Front is today, under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the broad, universal base of our political system. We understand it as an expression of the ideological and political unity of the people, a unity which of course is not granted once and for all but which it is necessary constantly to restore by integrating the opinions and interests of the various classes and branches of society, by harmonizing them with the public interest. We consider it significant and beneficial that, led by the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the National Front has provided the foundation for cooperation among political parties and social organizations. In this form it has been a distinguished feature of our national political development, which has even had an international impact.

There is no doubt that the National Front has proven itself a characteristic, organic constituent of our political system. There is also no doubt that, in the course of time, many shortcomings, unresolved questions, and unexploited opportunities have come to light in its practice. Consequently, it is the duty of the National Front to expand and enhance the conditions necessary for the

fulfillment of its mission. It is for this reason that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has taken up these issues and produced a document entitled "Proposals Directed Toward the Activation of the National Front and its Affiliated Organizations and Toward Increasing Their Role in the Formation, Realization and Enforcement of Policy." We are of the opinion that this document aptly characterizes the substance, sense, and mission of the National Front and that it brings together substantive, well founded criticisms of the shortcomings that can be found in its activity. We also regard as immensely significant the passage which emphasizes that the Czechoslovak Communist Party, in its relations with non-communist parties, must proceed from the realization that they acknowledge its role, that they consider the development of socialist society to be their basic mission and that it considers them its allies. We would like of course to add some complementary and specific suggestions, which arise from the experiences obtained in the course of our party's work in the National Front to the implementation of the document. The working group of the Presidium of the Central Committee, tasked with the assignment of addressing the issues of socialist democracy has developed for the National Front's platform and agenda materials containing a number of positions and suggestions. In them it is emphasized, among other things, that we should above all else proceed toward substantially increasing the political involvement of the National Front organs. Toward this end, relevant questions of nation-wide significance and questions pertaining to regions, counties and villages should, depending on the competence of the particular organs, be placed on their agendas. The fact that, in the process, it will be necessary to focus all attention on overcoming stereotypes, habits, and opinions no longer meaningful for contemporary life and its needs, is something we regard as surely all the more reason for a consistent application of all suggestions contained in our document. It will demand for each of us, individuals and institutions, not only the courage to deal with indolence and sometimes with opportunistic tactics in the spirit of the time-honored precept, "don't put it out if it's not burning you," but at times even a little of personal fortitude in affirming opinions which we are convinced are correct and socially justified.

13451/12232

HUNGARY

Wide Reach of 30,000 People's Control Inspectors Described

25000132 Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian
5 Feb 88 p 8

[Article by T. Sz.: "30 Years of People's Control"]

[Text] The ideal state when nothing has to be ever checked or audited, because everything is functioning properly, will never come. Nor will we ever see the day

when the investigations or audits find everything in order. And there will be a long wait even until we have fewer mistakes, shortcomings and abuses to uncover.

Unfortunately, investigations and audits are and will remain necessary for a long time to come. Such is life.

That is why we are commemorating today the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Central People's Control Commission. Instead of feting the people's control inspectors, let us now devote a few minutes of our time and a few thoughts to them.

Statistics

The KNEB [Central People's Control Commission] was established effective 3 February 1957. Its organization comprises the Budapest, megye and municipal people's control commissions, whose members are elected. The KNEB has a full-time staff of 650 (including auxiliary personnel). This professional apparatus is relatively small, but throughout the country there are about 30,000 voluntary people's control inspectors assisting the apparatus in its work. Last year, 22,000 of the voluntary inspectors participated in various investigations and audits, each inspector devoting five workdays of his time on average. Every year the people's control investigations and audits are conducted in response to between 10,000 and 12,000 reports (some of the reports may have been filed originally with other agencies). Which means that on average more than 30 citizens a day honor the organization with their confidence. The number of reports motivated by someone striking it rich or deriving income without work, by abuses in connection with the allocation of housing, and by objectionable behavior on the part of managers, is rising. Many of these reports are anonymous but well-founded.

Tasks

People's control is one of the few activities that have practically no limits. The target of its investigations and audits may be any state or cooperative organization, respectively any private business. Only the activities of the courts, public prosecutors, and elected councils are outside its scope of authority. However, people's control may investigate the activities of the elected councils' executive committees and their staffs.

It takes long even to list the tasks of people's control:

—To monitor the realization of the objectives regarding the development of the country's economy, social conditions, culture and public health.

—To review the state budget (the budget bill as well as the budget report) and advise the government on it, from the viewpoint of economic policy and social policy.

—To participate in coordinating the various forms of state control.

—To help strengthen legality, and to participate in preparing the decisions of state bodies, the government and local authorities, by making the experience of its audits and investigations available to them.

—To investigate the activities of private-sector businesses, artisans and merchants.

—To report to the competent committee of the National Assembly, respectively to the government, the findings of its important central comprehensive investigations of some subject.

Investigations Last Year

In 1987, the central, megye and municipal people's control commissions held about a thousand comprehensive investigations of some question; and, in response to reports or information received from the public, they also performed over a thousand specific audits, which involved visiting about 10,000 "units" (stores, institutions, etc.).

In January, officials of the Central People's Control Commission held a press conference to brief the press on the commission's work the preceding year. Eighteen central comprehensive investigations and special-purpose audits were conducted last year. Among others, their subjects included: the plant breeding of field crops; the use of farmland; the development of electronic components and subassemblies; the importation and use of valuable machinery; and the management and use of special state funds. The implementation of the law on compulsory school attendance, the availability of medical equipment, the quality of housing construction, and the situation regarding the extension of the local authorities' office hours for the public's convenience were also monitored.

An investigation covering 11 megyes established that student-welfare services were the weakest in general school. In the opinion of nutritional experts, the raw-material norms ought to be increased by between 25 and 40 percent. Proof of the parents' income situation is widely unreliable, and therefore the charges for subsidized school meals are often set unjustifiably low. The homes for the supervision of students after school are overcrowded.

The family-assistance centers were also investigated. It is gratifying that their national network has expanded, and that the equipment of the centers is more or less suitable. However, the centers' effective operation is being hampered by shortages of professionals to staff them.

Are there enough dentists? This is a tricky question, the more so because dental caries will soon become endemic: 80 to 90 percent of the population have bad teeth. Hungary ranks among the top third of the 21 countries of Europe in terms of training general practitioners and of the ratio of population per general practitioner. But we

rank among the last third of the countries of Europe in terms of the supply of dentists. In Borsod, Bekes, Hajdu and Szabolcs Megyes the ratio of population per dentist is three times the national average.

Investigations of the store network's density and of the availability of paid services for the population established, among other things, the following: the appearance of private carriers has relieved most of the shortages of freight-hauling capacity; however, price competition is not typical, and there are signs of the existence of a price cartel. It is not surprising, but the same conclusions were drawn from the investigations and audits also last year: periodic shortages, price gouging, failure to deliver within the time specified, and even corruption are still frequent in domestic trade and services for the population.

To Be Investigated This Year

How effective have the import-substitution measures been in the case of nonruble-denominated import? How have these measures been implemented?

How does the domestic supply of pharmaceuticals rate?

How could the sources of losses be eliminated in domestic long-haul freight transportation?

How is the implementation proceeding of the socioeconomic program to accelerate the development of the economically backward regions?

How are inventions and innovations utilized in practice?

How is the principle of need being enforced in the social-policy practice of the councils?

What are the local potential and results of the so-called "measures to improve the population's sense of well-being"?

How do the measures aimed at expanding the stock of tenements affect in practice the realization of the objectives of our housing and living-standard policies? How large and professionally competent is the staff assigned to this task, and how well is it organized? To what extent will it be possible to offset in the coming years the sharp decline in the number of state-owned housing units "available for allocation"?

Will the measures to ensure the reliable supply of piped drinking water, and reliable garbage collection as a public service, be implemented?

In practice, to what extent will agreements concluded with CEMA countries through 1990 help to realize the program for restructuring the economy and improving efficiency?

Do export and import in the form of barter satisfy the pertinent regulations and serve the interests of the national economy?

What progress have we made in installing and using computers in general and secondary schools?

Is the organization of price control suitable? Does it have the personnel, equipment and statutory authority to enforce the principles and objectives of price policy, and to prevent unwarranted price increases?

How effectively are the resources being used that are available for the maintenance and modernization of the road network that the councils manage? The same question arises also in conjunction with the national highway network.

How are transportation conditions developing for the workers who are obliged to commute?

The people's control inspectors will not be bored in 1988, either.

1014

POLAND

Association Law Discussion Refers to Democratization Efforts, Obligations

26000176 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview with Wladyslaw Jonkisz, Sejm delegate, member, PZPR Central Committee and Council of State, by Izabella Czaplarska: "The Conditions Exist—They Should Be Utilized"]

[Text] [Question] From all quarters one can hear voices demanding a new law on associations. In fact, the 1932 presidential decree regulating these matters, even if one takes into account all of the later amendments to it, is tremendously out of date. In particular, it is not appropriate for today's social situation. Perhaps the reason for this longevity, in spite of the change in the system, is its usefulness as a tool in the hands of the bureaucratic administration for curbing excessively exuberant social initiatives.

[Answer] The decree originated as a tool in the struggle with left-wing organizations. This already means that these legal solutions do not suit our sincere intentions of far-reaching democratization.

[Question] It is time for a new law, then, especially now, when so much is changing and even more will change in the realm of civil rights. The right of association is one of the more important of those rights. What are the prospects for new legislation on it?

[Answer] I do not think that a finished draft law on associations will emerge quickly. It is too important a document to be created in haste. Two important issues have to be weighed and resolved in this regard: the conditions have to arise for people to organize in complete freedom, while following the rule that whatever is not prohibited by law is permitted. It would be surprising if we did not extend the application of that rule from the economic sphere to other fields as well, and especially to the sphere of social organization. One general criterion should be applied: an association can operate only on the basis of respect for the Polish Constitution and the principles underlying the system. And that is the other main issue.

In establishing an organization, one must above all consider its purpose: the idea that gave rise to the plan to organize. In practice, however, we unfortunately still have to deal with a certain type of camouflaging of intentions and with attempts to insinuate goals that are in conflict with the basic condition of respect for the constitutional principles.

In spite of these reservations, which only apply to the activities of a small group of people who have made themselves known in the recent past as being averse to this principle, it is essential, in my opinion, to create the conditions for free association. Today there are no longer any obstacles to establishing associations with a very broad range of interests—from hobbyist ones to those entering a sphere apparently reserved for the state, such as defense, or the internal affairs handled by the LOK [National Defense League] or the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia]. Currently there are a large number of various organizations in operation, about 2,000, although it is also said, not without justification, that there are 70,000 of them (as the law sees it, each athletic club or volunteer fire brigade, for example, is a distinct organization).

[Question] Should one hope that the new law will give a strong impetus to the creation of new organizations?

[Answer] I do not think so. Undoubtedly new associations will appear, but they are also being created now. In any given month a certain number of organizations cease operating, and different ones, new ones, appear.

[Question] The principle of free organization is one aspect of a new law and a new practice with respect to associations. Another, and no less important, is the revision of the financial basis for their activities. Have appropriate concepts already been developed?

[Answer] This issue should be suitably reflected in the course of the work on the law. So far, in spite of the difficult economic conditions, it is still not difficult to find a sponsor who will generously subsidize the organization being created. In my opinion, that should not be the case, even if the organization's activity is socially beneficial in all respects. After all, the task of every

organization (the very name implies it) is, among other things, to give shape to the enterprise and autonomy of its members. On the basis of the regulations already in existence, social organizations can (and should) conduct extensive economic activity.

[Question] How have these opportunities been used?

[Answer] Currently, the production and services of social organizations yield about 180 billion zlotys a year. That is not a great deal in light of the possibilities.

[Question] Perhaps some sort of incentives for conducting that activity on a broader scale are necessary.

[Answer] I think that we need both incentives, and certain penalties applicable to the use of subsidies. It is surprising to me that in a period when the autonomy of various social structures is being sought, many of them simultaneously reach out for subsidies. After all, a subsidy is always a certain form of state interference, since it gives the latter the right of supervision of the activity it is financing. So, then—on one hand we have unrestricted autonomy and self-management, and on the other hand, subsidies? These are not elements that are compatible with each other. Perhaps large organizations, for example, NOT, which do not benefit from subsidies in their revived activity, are different.

[Question] What kind of position has been taken on these matters by the Party-Government Commission on the Issues of Reviewing and Modernizing the Organizational Structures of the Economy and the State, of which you are a member, chairing the group which is conducting a review of structures in social organizations?

[Answer] We are proceeding from the assumption that there is no sense in waiting until a new law confirms expanded authority. Before that takes place, it is necessary to make an effort to make maximum use of the already existing authority of social organizations. These matters are regulated by various legal documents, and not just the above-mentioned decree. Also necessary are steps to expand the authority of organizations and entrust new tasks to them. We have forwarded our position on these issues to the Office of the Council of Ministers, along with specific proposed solutions that we are recommending. We expect that they will be taken into account in the course of the current work on the draft laws. Thus, for example, we are proposing that the Federation of Consumers be given the authority to comment on applications for granting or denying producers seals of quality for individual products, to comment on draft decisions of the Polish Committee for the Standardization of Measures and Quality on the subject of deviations for standards of quality, and also to comment on certain standards and models. The proposals for improving the self-management of legal advisors would affect the selection of candidates for advisors, their testing and inclusion in the lists of legal advisors, and the

adoption of decisions on removal from that list. Also, other self-management bodies in certain circles would perform similar functions. There are also other proposals.

We are expressing the view that expansion of the powers of social organizations is not restricted to those presented by our group. We think that various high-level state bodies should also work on how they can expand those powers, both in the sphere of issuing opinions and supervision.

[Question] Is it necessary for the legal document to include the authority of a specific social structure, for example, to issue opinions? After all, opinions on social subjects can be expressed by any citizen, and not just an organization. It is constitutionally guaranteed...

[Answer] Yes, but there is a certain difference between the right to express an opinion, and the obligation of specified bodies or institutions to take it into account in making a decision. Such an inclusion is specifically aimed at establishing an obligation to consider the opinion of a "specialized" social organization, and also to give an explanation in the event that the body chooses a solution different from the one in the opinion given by the organization.

I would like to comment, however, that civil authority is exercised not only in social organizations, but also, primarily, in representative and self-management bodies. To a sufficient degree? Perhaps not. These are possibilities of which people are not fully aware. This applies, for example, to many people's councils, representative bodies in cooperatives, and territorial self-management bodies.

[Question] Which powers do those bodies rarely make use of?

[Answer] People's councils, especially at the primary level, often let the administration order them around. The prestige of the director, as an authority, is so powerfully embedded in people's awareness that in many matters the council relies upon his decision or means of resolving them. It is very good that he has great prestige, but the point is that the council should not only examine the proposals presented by the administration, but also develop its own resolutions, for instance, more often. It is necessary to arouse ambitions for more fully exercising constitutional privileges and for engaging in conceptual work. This is linked to the council's gaining broader and broader jurisdiction, both as a whole and for every councillor, since "competent bureaucratism" or an administrative style of management cannot be replaced by "incompetent democracy" that is not familiar with the affairs of the council or its committees. People in representative bodies must have a desire to familiarize

themselves with and study the often difficult subject of social issues, and also those related to the budget and finances. It is necessary to know the issues about which one must decide.

The deputies and many councillors have achieved this effectiveness to a considerably greater degree than was once the case. Thanks to their efforts, a sort of revolution is taking place, with respect to the competent working style of representative bodies.

This process is also occurring in other self-management bodies. It is inevitable when the expansion of civil rights and their being exercised more fully are combined with responsibility for the decisions made. Councillors must therefore know and have all of the information needed to adopt a decision or a council resolution.

The program for implementing the second stage of the reform contains many measures that can cause a further growth of the autonomy of people's councils and territorial self-management. I am convinced that in practice we will go further in expanding privileges and developing autonomy than those documents called for. That is what is needed and that is what is jointly desired by society and the authorities.

[Question] The results of referendums, however, have not confirmed that universal momentum toward expanding democratic achievements...

[Answer] I think that to a great extent those results were affected by a fear that unlimited democratization might turn into anarchy and chaos. In response to those concerns, we are emphasizing that democracy must be accompanied by discipline, and that privileges should be exercised while respecting the law.

[Question] The right of association is one of the roads to democracy. What is the social goal of those privileges?

[Answer] Democracy is above all creation of the conditions for a broad and open exchange of ideas and views, along with an obligation on the part of the authorities to take the opinions thus expressed into account in making decisions. Once decisions are made in that democratic process, however, there is an end to discussion of that subject. We must all get to work. The primary purpose of the freedom to organize and exchange views is not discussion for discussion's sake, but organizing in order to carry out certain tasks, and in short, carrying them out. After all, people organize in order to satisfy their material and intellectual needs better. Even in theory the flux of opinions has to be accompanied by the creation of material facts.

[Question] At present, however, we are accustomed to the omnipotence of the state. That has been the case for many years, and it will be difficult to get away from those

habits, both for the state bodies deciding on decentralization, and for the citizens, who could substitute for many state functions through their own organized action.

[Answer] Yes, one must take that into account. The progress of democracy depends, among other things, on whether social organizations will want to take over some of the state's obligations, since there are actions that someone in a state has to carry out. Limitation of the prerogatives of the state must therefore go hand in hand with the assumption of those functions by associations of citizens. In my opinion, some of those functions should be entirely concentrated in social organizations, such as physical culture, and a considerable part of cultural and educational activity.

The idea of decentralization is bringing decisions closer to people's needs. Decisions should be made by the closest collective that they affect. Not everyone likes this descent from the higher levels of authority to the lower ones, since it often means renouncing the attributes of authority, control over resources, and the possibility of decisionmaking.

The exercise of civil rights also requires civic activity, since only then will it be possible to take authority into one's own hands. The progress of democracy is dependent upon how rapidly representative bodies and social and self-management organizations will assume certain privileges, and, along with them, obligations and responsibility. Taking over those tasks will yield measurable social benefits as a result.

We are firmly convinced that the steps we are taking toward the expansion of democracy and self-management will also ensure efficiency, provided that they are accompanied by increased civic activity.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9909

Current 'Propaganda of Reform' Lists Complaints, Few Answers

26000166b Warsaw *ODRODZENIE* in Polish
No 6, 6 Feb 88 p 14

[Text] At the beginning of my journalistic work I became terribly affected. The times were such that if a journalist wrote an article, then someone immediately answered him that, for example, "...we will rectify the shortcomings and we must suffer the consequences..." Writing critical reports gave a feeling of social activity. I wrote, and, if you please, the matter was settled. The press is power, one thought, but I was young and stupid. However, things were a bit different from the way they are nowadays. At that time, writing a critical article was an event in the editorial office, and one's courage, unpromising attitude, etc., were praised. Nowadays critical articles appear like mushrooms after rain, and what

articles! Years ago one could attack a director (and then not every one), a *soltys* [village administrator], or the average official in a ministry. Now things are written about the crisis in the entire area of health care, about the decline in construction and public transportation, and state prices, ministers, and department directors are criticized. Glasnost [openness] in the full sense of the word.

Several million zloty in lineage were paid to journalists for publicity, reports, and columns on the subject of the lack of bandaging materials, cotton, and cellulose.

Journalists grew quite rich on buying up bottles, on stale bread, on the poor state of medical stores, hospitals, and stations. Furniture, cars, and housing also allow clever journalists to live. The number of subjects which may be criticized is enormous: from a shortage of thermometers to the poisoning of entire regions of the country.

Cotton, cellulose, thermometers, cheap furniture, available cars and housing are lacking. If one were to take seriously the excuses for all things attacked within the framework of reform, it would not turn out to be worthwhile to anyone. If one could believe otherwise, this would make up for everything. The overall picture of our situation would then look humorous; all would work, although it would not be worthwhile to them for they wouldn't be paid; it is not known how the state would repay this activity, and a debt for these services will remain for a while...

For the average reader, reading newspapers and weeklies and watching television programs is disorienting. On Builders' Day, medals and decorations are sprinkled about, and the opinion of workers' efforts from this department is high "in spite of occurring irregularities." The reader and listener are amazed, for are these not the very same builders who all the rest of the year take a thrashing from all publications?

After reading a series of articles dealing with the tragic situation in health care, about dirt, and lack of equipment and medicines, suddenly one hears of the unprecedented generosity of "the people in white aprons." Etc., etc.

People lose their wits when they hear of the fulfilment of a construction plan or production, and almost simultaneously are informed about the lengthening of queues for housing and the lack of fuel for the winter. Simply, somewhere, sometime in some report, which no one has read, it was plainly written that the plans had been reduced...

In news and in journalism, two trends are obligatory: the official one, under the slogan "there are difficulties, but we will overcome them," and the spontaneous one, presented by journalists who ride around the country and write things which will attract people's attention. A rather nice muddle arises from this and no one knows,

for example, whether things are good with health care or whether they're bad and getting worse. A so-called personal observation suggests that they're bad, but, thinks the reader, perhaps that is true here, and somewhere else things are good.

This method of practicing propaganda proves to be correct for some time. Then suddenly the premier appears before the cameras and says that we will decide by referendum whether it is necessary to undertake drastic measures in order to pull the country out of a deepening crisis...Then one's own feelings, critical articles, and the announcement of a referendum create such a dark picture in the mind of the citizen that even 5 years of anti-government readings would not do this. Of course a large chance exists that such a citizen would vote for the deepest possible reforms in order to change that black picture of our reality as quickly as possible. Reform, however, even the most far-reaching, has to rely on the mobilization of social forces and on the inclusion of citizens in the process of reforms and conscious participation in this process. Meanwhile one in a hundred citizens knows in outline the principles of reform, and one in a thousand also knows several from the second stage of reform.

Our propaganda of "green grass painted for the visit of a dignified guest" or the propaganda of success changed imperceptibly into the propaganda of disaster and then into the propaganda of far-reaching reform, "implementation of which meets difficulties." If within the framework of successive stages of reform the propaganda does not elaborate the model corresponding to the present times, the next stages await us. Oh, one would like to read an article criticizing the producers and distributors of toilet paper, in which a second part—after the critical one—would inform us when and who is to solve the problem, and even if it will be done well. Unfortunately, there is also a crisis in the journalistic profession: materials for such an article must be collected for about 2 months, and the editor won't make ends meet on his poor salary. Thus one benefits from the fact that one can complain and furthermore it will be worthwhile. So much so that the reader himself knows nothing further than what everyone knows "by himself"—that things are bad.

13324/09599

**Public Opinion of Police Behavior, Efficiency
Polled; Results Noted**
26000166a Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish
No 6, 6 Feb 88 p 13

[Text] How do most people rate the work of the police? What influences this kind of opinion? What are the reasons for positive opinions, and for negative opinions? What in particular is offensive and upsetting, and what is not acceptable in the attitudes and behavior of MO [Citizens' Militia] officials? What is thought of police privileges?

This was asked in a poll by the Public Opinion Main Research Center, the second in a series (the first took place in March, 1985, and we printed an account of its results in ODRÓDZENIE) on public opinion of police work.

To the question, "How do most people rate the work of the police?" 32 percent of those polled answered positively; 30.6 percent, neither positively nor negatively; 31.8 percent, rather negatively (26.7 percent) and (5.1 percent) decidedly negatively. Thus, the proportion of positive and negative opinions was approximately equal. But to the question, "And how do you personally rate the work of the police?" almost 45 percent of those polled gave positive opinions. Those who had neither positive nor negative opinions constituted 31 percent; those with negative opinions, 22 percent. And so here the preponderance of positive opinions over negative and neutral ones was clear-cut.

In particular, the "weakest" groups—the elderly, pensioners, and annuitants, women with small children, villagers—rated the work of the police positively.

However, members of the PZPR, ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia], trade unions, or those whose acquaintances or family members work in the MO [Citizens' Militia] also gave a positive rating. Definite criticism was expressed by the youngest respondents, large-city dwellers, individuals with higher education, representatives of private initiative, and members of the former Solidarity.

However, a feeling of security in one's residence influences one's opinion of the police. As shown during the poll, those who perceive their dwelling place to be safe and calm have a positive opinion of the MO [Citizens' Militia]. Those who think it is neither secure nor peaceful have a negative opinion.

Opinions on the system of government and personal political attitudes are also "carried over" onto the police. Those who approve of the existing system of government rate the work of the police rather positively. Those who repudiate it [the government] rate their work rather negatively. Although this is a political reason, it also characteristically appears fairly rarely. Only 4.6 percent of respondents who were asked, "For which reasons do people neither esteem nor respect the police?" countered that this was due to prosecuting persons with dissident political views, intervention in demonstrations, fighting with opposition, etc. Far more often the reasons included bad behavior toward people, tactless behavior, lack of respect for the citizen (25.6 percent); abuse of authority and powers, use of the legal protective umbrella, and lawlessness (22 percent); brutality, aggressiveness, use of force and other forms of blowing off steam at the citizen (15 percent); unfairness, overhasty use of punishments, and punishment for any little thing (11.5 percent).

Nearly 11 percent of those surveyed accuse the police of slowness in action ("they aren't where they should be, and don't get too involved in matters reported by citizens").

Most often mentioned among the reasons for a positive opinion of police work are the following: a feeling of security (preservation of public harmony and order, protection of citizens and their possessions, saving lives), 45 percent; fighting criminality, evil, and social pathology, detection of crimes and their perpetrators, 20 percent; a hard, thankless job, undertaken at the risk of one's own life and health, 11 percent. Such characteristics as helping to settle people's affairs and problems (6.7 percent) and friendliness, politeness, and good intentions (2.3 percent) were indicated, though more rarely.

Thus perceiving the need and necessity for the existence of the police for giving citizens a feeling of security and keeping harmony and order, and accepting these functions [the people] approve of the professional qualities [of the police] most of all. These also contribute most heavily to the positive opinion of police work. Bad behavior toward people causes negative opinions.

However, this diversity of meaning does not reflect so much personal, individual experience as to how they perform, but are rather universal stereotypes.

While more than half of those polled have never had any contact with MO [Citizens' Militia] officials, 36.5 percent have them occasionally, sporadically, and in situations such as: document checks, issuing fines, arranging for passports, giving statements as witnesses, reporting crimes, and appearing as a victim [of crime]. Officials seen on the job are mainly traffic police and passport officials. Much less often are there contacts with one's "own" district constable or policeman. One in five of the respondents stated that they know him personally, one in three knows him only by sight, whereas almost half do not know him at all.

Current stereotypes also emphasize in large measure the social opinion of MO [Citizens' Militia] privileges. About 60 percent of those polled were convinced of the existence of this type of privilege. One-third had no opinion on this subject, and only 8 percent acknowledged that distinct privileges do not exist. These include a separate supply-trade system (a separate network of shops, clubs, better supply, opportunity to make purchases without standing in line), higher wages, and the opportunity to obtain housing earlier with accessible loans and credits. Less often mentioned were a more advantageous system of annuities and pensions and individual, good health care.

A variety of ideas for improving opinions about the police was proposed. Every third person polled acknowledged that this may be done by the choice of suitable people, more careful selection of candidates for MO [Citizens' Militia] work, and raising the requirements

concerning education, personal manners, and morale. It is necessary to punish and to remove from the MO [Citizens' Militia] those people who are not conscientious workers or who break the law. The police must change their attitude toward citizens, stated 23.1 percent; they must take more interest in their affairs and problems, show goodwill toward them, and not be concerned only with punishment and demonstration of authority. One-fifth of the respondents (19.9 percent) were of the opinion that improvement of the MO's [Citizens' Militia] professional competence is essential. It was proposed to:

—place higher requirements on good candidates and to require more integrity and manners from officials;

—restore its functioning to agree with its name, i.e., defending the citizen and not defending the interests of the state;

—increase its ties to society;

—a policeman should be a friend and advisor of the citizen.

On the other hand, little importance was ascribed to the ideas of popularizing the MO [Citizens' Militia] work in the mass media, organizing meetings and discussions, limiting privileges, and reducing activity in political affairs.

And only a very small group (6 percent of those polled) stated that the police have no chance to gain greater public acknowledgment. The majority believe that in fulfilling these kinds of conditions, the police can enjoy greater public acknowledgment.

13324/09599

National Convention, Orders for Army School Agitprop Chiefs

*26000192a Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish
18 Feb 88 pp 1, 5*

[Article by Major Zdzislaw Lasota: "Innovation in Training and Education"]

[Text] On 17 February a two-day training and accountability briefing for heads of political departments and socio-political studies departments and chairs of military academies, officer training schools and training centers concluded in Warsaw. The chief of the Polish Army Main Political Board [GZP WP], Gen Tadeusz Szacilo, participated in the briefing.

On the first day of the conference—Vice Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the GZP WP, participated—participants heard many interesting

speeches describing the current social and political situation in Poland, its international conditions and the current status of and goals for ideological and educational work.

Representatives from Poland's socio-political and economic life were guests of the military teachers and trainers. PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, Dr Marian Orzechowski, described the international situation and the trends in its development. Prof Henryk Bednarski, head of the Ministry of National Education, spoke about the outline for action by the new department. The social and ideological terms of perestroika being implemented in the Soviet Union were presented by the first secretary of the Soviet embassy in Poland, comrade Aleksander Oskin. Andrzej Czyz, director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Division, discussed in depth issues of the party's ideological work. The substance and directions of modification for the plan of the second stage of economic reform were the focus of a speech by Dr Jerzy Malkowski, secretary of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Implementation of Economic Reform.

Participants became acquainted with the current substance of party political work and propaganda, agitation and cultural activity in the armed forces. Basic problems in these areas were presented by deputy chief of the GZP WP Brig Gen Tadeusz Kojder and Brig Gen Dr Leslaw Wojtasik.

Much attention was devoted to a discussion of proposed changes in professional military training. These were described by Brig Gen Dr Ryszard Muszynski, chief of the Board of Military Training.

Brig Gen Dr Mieczyslaw Michalik, GZP WP deputy chief for military training, emphasized the significance of these problems in drawing up specific goals for education, training and academic work for the current year. He stressed particularly the need for scrupulous fulfillment of the basic functions of military schools.

Gen Tadeusz Szacilo, chief of the GZP WP, dealt with issues raised at the briefing, presenting current tasks before the party political bodies of military schools in ideological and political activity. He stressed the importance of molding among staff and students high awareness of accountability, involvement in service, professional ambition and the culture of coexistence. He also pointed to the need for a close relationship between the didactic process and educational goals, to the obligation of close cooperation among social and political departments and faculties in implementing training and education goals.

The GZP WP chief also dealt with questions raised by participants in the meeting.

During the break we asked several briefing participants to share with our readers their comments on the goals that will be achieved this year.

Col Jan Tyczynski, chief of the Political Department of the A. Waszkiewicz Officer Training Automotive School in Pila: "We are at the stage of initiating a new educational system for cadets worked out jointly by socio-political studies departments and chairs that takes into account the specifics of each year of studies. We are also working on a new program of education that takes note of the most recent technological achievements and the accomplishments of the social sciences. And "along the way" we are improving school buildings and modernizing their furnishings. Computers and video technology are becoming the teaching resources of today."

Col Dr Longin Indisow, chief of the Department of Socio-Political Sciences at the Gen B. Szarecki Military Medical Academy in Lodz: "This year in our didactic activity we plan to pay more attention to explaining the complicated processes going on in the world. We are modifying our approach—I am referring to teaching methods and teachers—to work with students. For example, issues as important as fortifying the emotional bond between doctors and military service can never remain beyond the school's functions."

Col Dr Ryszard Majewski, chief of the Department of Socio-Political Sciences of the T. Kosciuszko Officer Training School of Mechanized Forces in Wroclaw: "In recent years the officer training schools are not becoming the only means of obtaining knowledge on the part of cadets. In these schools they can also improve their qualifications and the teaching staff can grow in knowledge. For example, in our department, in the doctoral seminar which is a branch of studies in the Military Institute of History, we are involved in research on the history of Polish military training and the history of the Silesian Military District. Seventy percent of the staff officers are writing doctoral or professorial theses. This is a major load but it is satisfaction too."

12776

Civilian Army Employees Union Focus on Wages, Fringe Benefits

26000192b Warsaw *ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI* in Polish
18 Feb 88 pp 1, 5

[Article by Major Stanislaw Radziszewski: "Concern for Employee Interests"]

[Text] The four year term of the Polish Civilian Military Employee Union [NSZZ PW] is nearing its end. In military units and institutions, during a reporting and electoral campaign of several months, evaluation of the union's activity has been carried out and new leaders have been chosen. As we have already noted, a reporting and electoral conference of the district union organization was held at the district club in Wroclaw.

Attending the conference were the chief of the Silesian Military District, Brig Gen Henryk Szumski; the plenipotentiary of the ministry of national defense for military employee affairs, Brig Gen Jan Pulawski, and chairman of the main board of the NSZZ PW, Piotr Bogusz.

Engineer Ludwik Kojka, chairman of the NSZZ PW District Board, informed the delegates about the course of the reporting-electoral campaign and the implementation of goals by union organization in units and garrisons of the Silesian Military District.

In the reporting-electoral campaign in union organizations of the Silesian units, much attention was devoted to concern over employee affairs and the social situation of civilian military employees. It is worth noting that it was in the Silesian Military District that the first employee cooperative for single family housing in the armed forces began operations. In dealing with employee matters, the union members paid much attention to issues of work safety and hygiene, improving productivity and efficiency, and careful management of the military property entrusted to them

Union members also participate actively in the invention-innovation movement. Among the well known and esteemed inventors are engineers Krzysztof Ciesielski, Wladyslaw Gancar, Tomasz Kuderko, Jan Bartnik, Stefan Gelej and Jan Pulka.

NSZZ PW members are well known for their participation in social actions. They supported financially the construction of the Memorial Hospital and Health Center for Polish Mothers, took part in the National Action for School Aid and helped earthquake victims in Mexico. They offered patronage to the State Children's Home: Union members from the Officer Training Engineer School opened a housing account for the wards of the State Children's Home in Wroclaw and paid for the summer camp expenses of six children from that facility. Union members from the Mechanized Forces Officer Training School, administrative units and district weapons warehouses did likewise.

Gen Szumski stressed the essential role of the district union organization, adding that cooperation between union members and the leadership of the Silesian Military District during the past term was good and useful. The district command values highly the participation of union representatives in social units of the ZKS and on social conditions committees. Because of the involvement of union members in disseminating the culture of law among employees, work discipline and efficiency have improved.

Brig Gen Jan Pulawski devoted much attention to the participation by the union of military employees in creating a new style of work and executing the tasks arising out of the terms of the second stage of economic reform.

Piotr Bogusz, responding to issues raised in the discussion, said that at the center of interest of the union's Main Board is the issue of compensation for military employees and work on new rules for managing money for the social fund, which will be spent on the social needs of military employees.

During the conference exceptionally active union members were singled out with awards for "meritorious service to the Silesian Military District," as well as material awards.

Union members elected new leaders and delegates to the national conference. Ludwik Kojka was re-elected chairman of the union's District Board.

12776

POLITYKA Pleased With Apparent New Access to Soviet Readers

Leningrad Reader Corrects Soviet Errors
26000193 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 8, 20 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] In Daniel Passent's article (*POLITYKA* No 3), there are two inaccuracies that are obvious to a Soviet reader, especially one from Leningrad.

First, Khrushchev's report at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party ("On the Cult of the Individual and its Consequences") was delivered in February 1956, not 1955.

Second, Leningrad University to this day is named for A.A. Zdanov. The name has not been changed since it was conferred (incidentally, I graduated from that school in 1983). Today, admittedly, there are opinions circulating that it would be better to change the name. But for now that is merely lobbying and none of these proposals has been in the press.

Naturally, this is a mere trifle, but to a reader who knows something of Soviet history (understands what the point is) such inaccuracy somewhat falsifies contemporary Soviet reality.

I apologize for my errors in Polish; I am self-taught.

Nikolaj Przeobrazenskij, Leningrad

From the Editor
26000193 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 8, 20 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] We are pleased that our publication can now be subscribed to in the USSR and that it reaches readers so quickly and regularly.

Passent's Offending Passage

26000193 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 3, 16 Jan 88 p 16

[Excerpt] I received a letter which began as follows: "The editorial staff of KONTRASTY cordially invites you to take part in our new survey entitled 'How to Live.'"

Dear friends, I thank you sincerely for the honor and the invitation, but if I knew how to live I would not have been blundering in my columns every week for the past 20 years. I began to blunder at the end of the 1960s, because before that, in high school, at college, before, during and after October, everything seemed simple and easy. In 1955, during the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, I was a first year student at Leningrad University, named for Zdanov (currently for Hecsen—the opposite of the 22 July Works, "formerly E. Wedel"). A friend from college, Larissa Wolkowa, had the most recent revelations about Khrushchev's report on the cult of the individual and she whispered confidentially in my ear, "They say Stalin was not a genius."

12776

ROMANIA

Democracy, Human Rights Under Socialism

27000032 Bucharest *ERA SOCIALISTA* in Romanian
10, 25 Oct 87

[No 19, 10 Oct 87 pp 21-27]

[Text] The revolutionary theory of scientific socialism, based on profound knowledge and generalization of historical experience, and the whole procedure of building the new social order proves that there is an inherent dialectical unity between socialism and democracy. Since socialism is the purposeful undertaking of the masses, Nicolae Ceausescu formulated a scientific, innovative view of the inseparable unity of socialism with democracy, the role and significance of socialist democracy as an essential factor for building the new order, the superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy, and the need of the workers' and the people's active, purposeful participation in all social management.

In the light of this innovative view, the RCP has taken a series of measures since the Ninth Party Congress to reorganize and improve Romanian society and the operation of all components of the political system on the principles of workers self-management and socialist democracy, thus creating a broad and unique democratic structure for the people's participation in management of all socioeconomic activity. The party secretary general says, "We have not only formulated the principle of socialist construction with and for the people but have also worked and done all we could to bring about the

people's purposeful participation in implementing the developmental programs, in adopting all decisions, and in making and implementing domestic and foreign policy."

Practical experience has confirmed the viability of the RCP's theoretical and political measures to develop workers revolutionary democracy and to bring about mass participation in management of the whole undertaking of building the new society. Continuing evaluation and improvement of the relationships, principles and direct efforts of the institutions whereby the inherent unity of socialism and democracy is implemented in accordance with the objective requirements of each stage are essential features of the viewpoint and procedure promoted by the RCP and its secretary general in the undertaking of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance to communism.

In view of those considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA is publishing in this issue a series of articles examining the inherent correlation between socialism and democracy in its many aspects.

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Ion Florea: "An Inherent, Inseparable Unity"]

[Text] The inherent dialectical unity of socialism and democracy is a fundamental principle of construction of the new social order. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We must never forget that we are building socialism with and for the people and that development of workers revolutionary democracy and mass participation in management are critical factors for the people's purposeful construction of their own future and for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."

The results of socialist construction in Romania and in other socialist countries as well also indicate that the unity of socialism with democracy does not come about by itself or through any automatic determinism but as a result of the constant efforts of the RCP, the leading political force of society, to build and perfect the institutional-organizational structure for multiple forms of mass participation in socioeconomic management, to eliminate any factors that could restrict that participation, and to make all the necessary provisions for full assertion of the democratic principles and values of socialism.

The victory of the socialist revolution laid the objective foundation for a real, higher democracy, unrestricted by criteria of class, nationality, position or sex, that establishes full equality among all citizens, guarantees the exercise of the basic human rights, and secures the workers' and the people's right to share in all social management. Socialist democratism advances in practice through an extensive political effort under party leadership to organize and mobilize the workers and to indoctrinate them in a high sense of responsibility for the progress of public affairs on the micro- or macrosocial

level, for the general progress of the nation, and for the strategic objectives of construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism.

Just as socialism itself is not an abstraction divorced from the national realities and each people's characteristics, neither are socialist democracy and its institutional system divorced from the traditions and characteristics of each of the countries building the new order. Therefore there is and can be no single, universally valid model of socialist democracy with the same organizational structures and procedures everywhere. Those differ from one country to another, depending on the democratic traditions, the specific-historical conditions of socialist construction and revolution, the nature of the relationships established over the years between the Communist Party and other social-political forces, the nature of the class and national minority structures, etc. Experience has proved that any attempt to copy or impose any democratic forms or experience valid under particular social-historical conditions or to generalize and standardize them have bad effects and impair the progress of socialist society. Therefore determination of the ways and means of democratic management, as well as the forms of socialist construction in general, is the sole province of the revolutionary party of the working class in each country. Development and improvement of socialist democracy in keeping with each country's social-historical conditions and with the requirements of the various stages of construction of the new order are themselves objective laws of socialist and communist construction. The RCP and its secretary general have brought out the fact that unless constant efforts are made in that direction, harm is done to the development of socialist society, contradictions may be aggravated, and even political crises may ensue.

Exercise of party leadership and continuing consolidation of the party's ties with the masses of workers are laws common to socialism and to development of the new order's democratism. The party directs the process of socialist construction not from outside society and the workers collectives but from within them, as an organizing and mobilizing force for solution of the various problems, contradictions and difficulties that arise together with the people and in their interest.

Democratic centralism should be noted first among the fundamental principles of socialist democratism. It combines uniform socioeconomic management according to the Unified National Plan for Development with the autonomy and initiative of the local regional organs, the socioeconomic units, and every workers collective and with the development of workers revolutionary democracy. Dialectical correlation of the two aspects of this principle of socialist social management is a regular requirement of social development, since it provides the necessary basis for uniting the entire people's efforts for unflinching implementation of the party programs for bringing Romania up to new heights of progress and civilization.

Collective management, generalized after the Ninth Party Congress on all levels and in all fields of Romanian social activity, is another fundamental operating principle of Romanian socialist democracy. Since 1978 the collective management organs in the economic units have become bodies for workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, marking a new and higher stage of Romanian socialist democracy's development. The workers self-management system has been continually improved both on the level of its primary components (workers general assemblies and workers councils) and on the national level, and it is reflected in the formation of the congresses according to fields and in the work of the national councils elected by them. Of course collective management requires, as a corollary, personal responsibility and an active display of it. By broadening the scope of social responsibility, democracy will also heighten everyone's personal responsibility.

Its increasingly close correlation of the work of the state organs with that of the workers revolutionary democratic bodies and the mass and public organizations, under RCP leadership and in the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [FDUS], is a fundamental feature of the Romanian democratic system. Of course that does not in the least detract from the state's role but strengthens its democratic character by placing it even further under the control of society and the people through mass participation in its activity.

Socialist democracy enhances the unity of the economic, social and political factors, which is reflected in the forms of collective management and especially in the national self-management bodies playing a critical part in setting the goals and strategies of the nation's general socioeconomic development. Accordingly the government's obligation to report to the National Workers Council on fulfillment of the state plan and on national socioeconomic development is an important factor in the operation of the Romanian democratic system.

The democratic bodies formed in Romania in the last 20 years, which operate within a uniform, harmoniously articulated system, provide extensive possibilities for the masses' direct as well as representative participation in managing the units and society as a whole and in making decisions on Romania's further progress in socialism, in order to reach a true national consensus on the vital questions of social development and Romania's domestic and foreign policy. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We are quite justified in saying that we now have a broadly democratic organizational structure providing for participation of all workers of all nationalities and all social categories in social management. We have a unique democratic administrative system, infinitely better than any form of bourgeois democracy, a democratic system based on socialist ownership of the production means, wherein the workers decide quite knowledgeably upon all Romanian domestic and foreign policy and upon their lives and futures." This graphically reflects the

people's moral-political unity around the party and its secretary general, who has a telling role in the formation and continuing improvement of the whole Romanian democratic system. Moreover the FDUS, the broadest democratic body, including the entire people, lends organizational and political form to that unshakable unity as the powerful motive force of Romanian socialist society's all-around progress.

The constant strategic objective of the political effort toward construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism and the process of continually improving socialist democracy are not confined to rationalizing the institutional-organizational structures. The nature of socialist democracy must also be understood in its axiological aspect, as the end and the chief means to human emancipation and to the leap (mentioned by Engels) from the rule of necessity, as the blind force of the objective laws to which man was subject without his knowledge or will, to that of freedom and purposeful participation in making and implementing social decisions and in controlling the political structures, which do not oppose him as something foreign to and dominating him. Socialist democracy in action makes the people a purposeful and active historical subject, masters of themselves, the decisions that concern them, the institutions in which they are integrated, and the objectives they undertake under party leadership. Their full, effective and knowledgeable participation in the operation of the democratic structures helps to advance them as social beings and as socially and politically active personalities.

Some rightist critics of democracy reduce it to its quantitative aspect, overlooking the aspect of people's qualities. That clearly wrong simplification is used to justify the antidemocratic and anticommunist policy of the exploiting classes, while the broad and authentic democracy that socialism institutes and keeps improving is the political structure for unrestricted development of the personality and creative use of the capacities of all members of society. Socialist democratism is also a structure for humanizing social relations, especially in the process of production based on confidence in people and on their full equality of rights, since social advancement is the direct result of everyone's work, training and qualities whether innate or acquired through education and instruction.

While socialist democracy is itself a political value, it is also inseparable from promotion of such advanced moral-political values as equity, justice, freedom, humanism, a civic spirit, patriotism, collectivism, respect for the individual as the supreme social value, social and political responsibility and commitment, a critical spirit, an advanced attitude, and a high social awareness. In fact, workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, marking a higher stage in the development of economic and political democracy, are becoming essential features of people's work and lives and of social and production relations themselves, lending them

a new, socialist content. At the same time the extent and quality of the workers' democratic participation in management depend upon their levels of training and awareness and the extent to which participation becomes a necessity and an individual need. Therefore formation of a democratic awareness not only in the course of socialist education of the masses and especially of youth but also in actual exercise of the democratic rights is essential to the further progress of democracy. Socialist democracy and workers self-management are both schools of political education and reflections of training and advanced socialist awareness.

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Olivia Clatici: "Uniform Management and Democratic Development"]

[Text] It is well known that socialism is being built with a wide diversity of socioeconomic and political structures, ways, means and priorities in its construction, which are used or planned in one country or another and make up an extremely wide field of specific-historical characteristics, including the main features of the new order, namely abolition of man's exploitation by man and social inequalities, institution of public ownership of the production means, promotion of democratic political organization of society to secure the active participation of the working class and the entire people in socioeconomic management, and promotion of a new and revolutionary humanism.

Meanwhile each stage of socialist construction requires new forms of organization, management and planning to fully coordinate the production forces with the social and production relations. Moreover the goals and tasks of each stage of the revolutionary process call for the entire people's united efforts, uniform guidance and management of all society, and exercise of party leadership in all activities.

The extent of the task of building the new society and the entirety of the internal and international conditions under which it is being done objectively require a uniform political administration wherein the party and state will fully perform their functions, as well as a profoundly democratic one that will permit and encourage the workers' (and actually the entire people's) participation in managing all social activities and society as a whole. Romania's uniform, democratic social management is implemented through the system of socialist democracy, which includes a series of political and social-public institutions enabling the citizens to participate in political and social management and a set of principles and laws that regulate the functions of and relations among the components of the democratic system and provide for their cooperation in order to unite the entire people's action around the party and its secretary general. The institutional system of socialist democracy is the outcome of intensive theoretical, political-organizational and practical experimental work consistently done with revolutionary boldness by the RCP since the historic Ninth Party Congress under the impetus of Nicolae

Ceausescu's innovative thinking. The system is a vivid illustration of the RCP's fundamental principle of building socialism with and for the people and the organized framework for the masses' purposeful participation in all social management. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "In view of the necessity of uniting the efforts of the entire people, who have become the true masters of the nation's resources and their destinies, the RCP has been specially emphasizing further development of workers revolutionary democracy and providing the right organizational structure for the workers' and the entire people's participation in management of all activities. The party secretary general also formulated the vital theoretical and practical principle that "The formation of new, democratic bodies must provide in any case for a uniform management and guidance of all economic and social activities."

Uniform social management is implemented through a harmonious mechanism centering upon the RCP, the leading political force of all society. As Nicolae Ceausescu says about this, "There can be no socialist democracy without party management." As the vital center of the nation and the leading political force of society, the party formulates the general political policy and the major strategic options, submitting them to all the democratic bodies and the entire people for discussion and analysis and making use of the masses' realistic suggestions and initiatives. Meanwhile, the party is closely integrated in socioeconomic activity, working within and in close contact with the masses.

The mechanism whereby the party's political strategy and general policies, adopted after extensive consultation of the masses, become options and an operational program for the entire people is a profoundly democratic one. It functions primarily as a relationship among the political institutions whereby the party's draft program documents, the major policies outlined by the congresses and by the plenums of the Central Committee, and the decisions of the Political Executive Committees are discussed and adopted by the state bodies, by the twofold party and state bodies, and by the mass and public organizations. Then, after they are adopted, they are reanalyzed in the same structures, which determine the necessary political and organizational measures to carry them out. Through the mechanisms and activity of the state, the party's program policies are invested with the power of law and become binding, so that their implementation is also secured by the organizational and educational measures of that body, which plays an essential part in the implementation and uniform management of the party's political policy.

The five-year and annual unified national plans for socioeconomic development approved by the Grand National Assembly, the supreme organ of state power, are the chief means of concentrating the whole nation's creative efforts and entire activity in building the fully developed socialist society upon implementation of the objectives and tasks flowing from the RCP Program and

the party congress' directives. To that end the RCP regularly and heavily emphasizes improvement and consolidation of the planned management and the forms of uniform democratic management of all activities. For that purpose, new measures were adopted recently to improve the organization and performance of the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, a broad, representative and democratic party and state body, which measures enhance its role in drafting the five-year and annual plans and the long-range programs and in determining the measures needed to implement them. Planned uniform management in no way conflicts extension of the rights, initiatives and autonomy of the enterprises, which have growing responsibilities for organizing and implementing the efforts toward uniform fulfillment of the aims and tasks of general national development. The fact is significant in this respect that special emphasis is now being placed on consistent application of the legal provisions for drafting the plans for centrals, as the basic units operating on the principles of self-management and self-administration, and also on greater responsibility for the best fulfillment of their provisions.

Uniform political management is involved in practice with a vital requirement of the present stage of social development, namely the necessity of improving occupational and political training, qualification and specialization, further improving scientific management, and generalizing the advanced experience acquired in organization and management of all social activities. Decision-making requires many complex correlations among the various social activities, as well as knowledge and consideration of the evolution of the comparable fields on the international level, and those aspects, in addition to the greater promptness required in order to make important decisions concerning the general interests of society, call for uniform social management. Moreover, the trend toward better guidance and uniform direction of the various activities is becoming more and more general in the course of current socioeconomic development.

As contrasted with the bourgeois order, socialism provides the requirements and guarantees needed to harmonize relations between uniform social management and the broad democratism of political organization and management. Adoption of strategic decisions via the mechanism of the institutional system of socialist democracy and close combination of the forms of direct democracy with those of representative democracy bring social-political decisions close to the masses, submit them to their discussion and approval, and make them options and expressions of the will of the workers and the entire people.

The regular, productive dialogue between the decision-making organs on the macro-social level and the masses, a dialogue regularly initiated and maintained by the party administration, and the simultaneous optimal operation of the information system from top to bottom

and bottom to top have a quite outstanding place in the combination of uniform management with development of democracy. The regular dialogue of the higher party administration with the masses, Nicolae Ceausescu's working visits, the direct contacts with the workers, the national forums of the workers revolutionary democratic bodies, and the workers' many opportunities to appeal directly to the party and state administrations help to create a political climate favoring mass participation in economic and political affairs and in making decisions.

It is this democratic political climate, intensively cultivated and strictly observed, that has permitted the entire people's growing involvement in solving the problems upon which Romanian society's further development depends. It is an unquestionable and accomplished fact that today national affairs are becoming more and more the affairs of every member of Romanian socialist society.

In its turn the optimal operation of the information system provides favorable conditions for implementing and consolidating the unity of action of the party and the people in order to carry out both the strategic and the operational decisions required by direct management of the effort to fulfill the general programs and plans approved by the party and the workers democratic forums.

Uniform and also democratic social management accordingly requires agreement between the decision-makers and the masses, brought about by the operation of the entire mechanism of Romanian socialist democracy.

The extensive democratic discussion occasioned by ratification of the major party decisions and laws of the land is supplemented and fulfilled by determination of the best courses of action, and the ways of implementing them, on the level of each collective. The role and responsibility of the workers revolutionary democratic bodies, which involve all workers in management and organization of all activity in the socioeconomic units where they work, are increasing more and more in the present stage. Based as it is on the democratic system for adopting and applying decisions, the unity of action of all the organizational and human elements also depends upon the level of political awareness and responsibility of the members of society and requires maturity, competence, order and discipline, which are basic standards of socialist democracy. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The people have the decisive part to play in implementing the programs for Romania's development, and it is only by steadily improving their professional, technical, scientific and cultural knowledge and their general awareness that we shall bring about any consistent, telling or purposeful effort to carry out the programs for national development. And as it was emphatically pointed out at

the Third Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, that requires more intensive political-educational efforts to enhance the workers' revolutionary socialist awareness.

In performing its role as the leading political force of society, the RCP works consistently for development and enhancement of socialist democracy, since those two major aspects of Romanian political activity are interrelated and interdependent. Party leadership in effecting uniform management of all social activities is developed while a profoundly democratic political climate is being created and the workers revolutionary democratic system exists and is being improved. Meanwhile this development is supported by a broad mass base constantly reinforced by the entire people's participation in adopting and implementing the policy of socialist and communist construction in Romania.

[Article by Univ Lecturer Dr Traian Stoicescu: "Development of Party Leadership Essential to Greater Socialist Democratism"]

[Text] Reflecting a bold and profound theoretical generalization of Romanian experience and that of the international communist movement concerning the role and tasks of the revolutionary party of the working class as the center of the Romanian socialist democratic system, the RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works present an innovative dialectical conception of the functions and evolution of the party and democracy and also of the basic relationships between them in the regular, objective process of Romanian socialist society's all-around development and its advance toward communism.

Socialism makes purposeful social development actually possible by virtue of the general structural changes that it makes. Fulfillment of that possibility requires considerable development of the role of the subjective factor in making historical progress. The RCP and its secretary general have emphasized the conclusion that until socialist society reaches the developmental level in its evolution that will enable it to regulate itself through the creative efforts of all its members, uniform scientific management of all socioeconomic activity must be exercised by the most advanced elements in society, who can make social forecasts and direct the masses' creative powers toward progress. That is the mission of the political superstructure and particularly of the revolutionary party of the working class, which reflects the vital interests of all society and the vital aspirations of the entire people, and its active power increases with the perception of socialist society's evolution.

The highly complicated tasks of building the fully developed socialist society, the demands of the current technical-scientific revolution, and the necessities of converting the quantitative accumulations into qualitative changes in socioeconomic activity determine the development of the democratic forms of socialist society's

organization and activity. In the last analysis, democracy is becoming the vital factor for individual and social progress, and enhancement of socialist democracy is basic to continuing consolidation of Romanian society. Therefore socialist democracy is necessarily both the result and the substance of a constant process and an integral part of construction of the new order. Socialist democracy accordingly has a processual character and a content that is constantly enriched and enhanced.

The program objectives set by the 13th RCP Congress call for increasingly intensive and purposeful participation of the masses and all citizens in social management. The effectiveness of that activity depends to the greatest extent upon the party's organizational, ideological and political-educational effort to make all workers aware of their new status as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth and their creative role, and to mobilize them for discussion and solution of the far-reaching problems of progress on the path of socialist and communist society. It is the party's mission within the Romanian democratic system to lend a uniform direction to all the virtually unlimited social energies and to increase their creative power in that way.

As the leading political force of the entire nation and the vital center of Romanian society, the party provides, in close connection with the people, for the efficiency of all social activities, for a new way of thinking and acting, and for the continuity of the revolutionary process. Not only is its social leadership no obstacle whatever to development of democracy, but on the contrary it determines and stimulates the proper operation of the state organs, the mass and public organizations, and all the democratic administrative bodies, and growth of that role is indispensable to the increasingly intensive promotion of socialist democracy.

Over the years of socialist construction in Romania the formation of a new, unique and uniform democratic system has gone through several phases and been steadily improved, especially since the Ninth Party Congress. The party secretary general said that we shall have to go on securing the vitality of that system and "always proceed from the fact that what we have accomplished pertains to a certain stage and a certain developmental level of the production forces and social relations, and that henceforth, along with general development of society and social relations we shall have to find more and more new forms and improve the existing ones by continuing to enlarge the democratic structure."

Socialist society is the materialized form of the system that permanently abolished social and national oppression, as well as private ownership of the production means as the source of man's exploitation by man, and laid the foundations for real equality among all members of society and for a profoundly democratic political system that actually enables workers of all nationalities and the entire people to share in management of all social activities. Guided by the principles of scientific

socialism, the RCP formulated the principle of socialist construction with and for the people and worked in accordance with it for improved social and production relations, for intensive development of workers revolutionary democracy, and for a broad democratic structure for all workers' and the entire people's participation in management of activities in all units and sectors and on the national level as well. This provided for the masses' and the entire people's organized and active participation in purposeful construction of their own free future and the socialist and communist future.

The present structure of the Romanian socialist democratic system is not the result of any arbitrary or chance factors but the outcome of decades of experience and of experiments and investigations that led to the institution of a series of principles and forms of management that reflect the essence of the new order and the original and distinctive features of socialist construction in Romania.

The organization and operation of the whole Romanian democratic system are based on such fundamental principles as democratic centralism, collective management, workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, the standards of socialist justice and ethics, and the basic values of the new society, namely all workers' social responsibility and freedom regardless of nationality, social and ethnic equality, the workers' sense of responsibility, commitment, order and discipline, and revolutionary socialist humanism.

It was in this context that the objective requirement was set of improving the role and functions of the Romanian socialist state and consolidating its role in close correlation with the exercise of party leadership in society and with the new democratic administrative bodies. The RCP considers the state the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the whole nation's common activity, permanently under the masses' control. The party secretary general has reportedly stressed the need of involving the work of the state organs more and more closely with that of the new democratic bodies to strengthen the masses' role in adopting and implementing decisions. The 13th RCP Congress and Nicolae Ceausescu accordingly pointed out that "We must always bear in mind that we can in no way weaken uniform socioeconomic management on the basis of the unified plan, which is to combine the interests of every unit and workers collective with the general interests of Romanian socialist society and of the entire people."

The party, the state, and the workers democratic bodies make up the principal structure of the Romanian political system, and the activities of its components are harmoniously integrated in the process of building the new order. As we know, promotion of party leadership led to new and profoundly democratic forms in Romania's social-political experience. In that connection, the institution of multiple functions, which eliminated some duplications, and the system of relations between the

party and the great national forums illustrate the Romanian democratic system's capacity for self-improvement in keeping with the practical requirements of socialist construction and with the new conditions.

The institution and institutionalization of workers self-management as a part of the general development of democracy, which acquired substance thereby that enables it to fully assert its attributes and potentials, have a place apart in the series of measures adopted by the RCP to develop and improve socialist democracy. In keeping with the principles of self-management and economic-financial self-administration, every workers collective bears full joint responsibility for administration and development of the unit wherein it operates. The rights of the general assemblies and workers councils to adopt decisions on all matters concerning socioeconomic activity and plans are to be consistently combined with application of the provisions of the national plans for uniform development.

Consolidation of workers self-management and improvement of production relations, social relations as a whole, and the mechanism for economic organization and management are vital objectives set by the 13th RCP Congress in order to accentuate the intensive, qualitative aspects of economic development and to improve management and planning and the efficiency of the created democratic structure reflecting workers revolutionary democracy. The fact should also be noted that in the course of the extensive process of developing and improving the workers revolutionary democratic system, great national democratic forums were created at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion, and steps were also taken to strengthen the FDUS, reflecting the political unity of the entire people.

Introduction in party activity of the method of direct consultation of the masses in solving the chief problems of general or local interest and consolidation of the tie with the masses in formulating, discussing and implementing decisions are particularly important in formulating a realistic political policy and in implementing socialist democratism in practice. Nicolae Ceausescu's meetings with workers on his many working visits throughout the country, as well as the congresses and conferences of representatives of the various social and occupational categories, graphically illustrate this profoundly democratic policy of the RCP's.

Accordingly, a unique democratic system has been created and is operating in Romania, whereby the direct representatives of the masses decide upon the future of the nation, upon the ways of consistently implementing the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, and upon domestic and foreign policy, while determining measures for Romania's further development and for consolidating its material and moral unity and strength and its sovereignty and independence. The great objectives approved by the 13th

RCP Congress require increasingly close integration of the party's work in socioeconomic activity, its complete correlation, within the democratic structures, with the work of the entire people, and constant care that the party's entire policy will truly stem from and faithfully reflect workers revolutionary democracy and the will and interests of the working class and the people, as Nicolae Ceausescu said. As he said, "In the spirit of the documents we have approved and the 13th RCP Congress' decisions, we shall have to make every effort to strengthen the RCP in all respects and to keep broadening its ties with the masses and the people, because this close, inseparable unity of the party with the people is the sole guarantee of Romania's steady progress toward socialism and communism."

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gheorghe Cretoiu: "Economic Democracy Basic to Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] As the economic base of socialist society and by its very nature, the system of socialist production relations calls for further democratization of economic, social and political activity. The interactions between those two aspects are extensive and far-reaching, and naturally in a state of constant development and improvement. Their determination requires constant in-depth study of the economic, social and political situations characteristic of the various stages of construction of the socialist system in each country and of international experience as well.

Experience increasingly bears out the view formed and promoted by the RCP and its secretary general that economic democracy is a basic aspect of socialist democracy. On the one hand, socialist democracy, as a kind of democracy new to history, cannot be fully implemented without economic emancipation of the workers and equal and equitable relations among people concerning their position in regard to the production means and the critical area of human activity, namely production and reproduction of material and intellectual values, and also concerning labor relationships and acquisition of the fruits of labor. Moreover assertion of the people as full subjects of power involves both political-social relations and economic activity. On the other hand, the socialist system sets out to and will bring about the people's full and purposeful participation in building their own future, release the masses' creative initiative, and involve them in making history and social progress, which critically depends upon sustained and intensive development of the national economy, modernization of the production forces, improvement of social and production relations, and the most efficient management of all resources. By the very nature of the socialist system, this broad and comprehensive process demands purposeful and deliberate undertaking of the major aims of socialist construction and organized participation of all members of society in the collective effort to develop the national economy.

This closely coordinates the various aspects of socialist democracy, political, economic and social, while economic democracy carries political democracy further,

consolidates it, and also establishes relations among the members of society and between the individual and society that permit consistent promotion of the basic values of the new social system and complete social-political fulfillment of the members of society. As it becomes a distinct value of the new social system, economic democracy stimulates economic activity and helps to provide for satisfaction of individual and social needs and for achievement of social progress.

In view of these interrelations among the economic, social and political processes, the RCP treats the problems of socialist democracy dialectically. In speaking of development of socialist democracy in Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that some of the party's and state's chief and constant concerns are "harmonious combination of political and economic democracy and all-around improvement of relations within socialist society. Widespread consultation of the masses on vital points of domestic and foreign policy and on all decisions concerning the people's future and provision for their active participation in management of the state and public affairs are the prime factors that lend strength and realism to the party's program, guarantee its best implementation, and arouse the enthusiasm of the people, the purposeful writers of their own history."

Socialist economic democracy is an inseparable aspect of socialist democracy and chiefly consists of the workers' regular and purposeful participation in economic management on the levels of both the socialist units and the national economy.

In pointing out the necessity of economic democracy, we must bear in mind first of all its inherent connection with socialist ownership of the production means and also with the system of planned organization and management of the national economy and the socialist economic units. That emphasis is especially necessary in the present period, when questions of economic organization are the subjects of extensive theoretical-ideological discussions on the international level and, among other things, some non-Marxist western ideologists are trying either to disparage socialist ownership and present capitalist ownership in obscured and apologetic forms, or to blur the existing differences between socialism and capitalism, especially in socioeconomic organization. Such ideas are based particularly upon development of the various forms of workers self-management in the socialist countries and the appearance of certain structures and forms of organization in some developed capitalist countries for purposes of involving workers' representatives or trade-union representatives in enterprise management. Such trends are particularly evident in the western literature on comparative analysis of the current socioeconomic systems, namely socialism and capitalism, especially in the studies of ownership and self-management. For instance, in a very broad and vague sense of the concept of management, the English economists Trevor Buck and Brian Chiplin of Nottingham University maintain that the concept includes any forms of

control over enterprises that are "either nonhierarchic or voluntary, when any hierarchy is elected by the labor force for a certain period. In practice," they say, "this determination must exclude central planning and also capitalism.... Ownership may or may not be present in self-management, and prices may be set by the market or by plan."

Economic management no doubt involves decision-making, especially in the areas of forming and distributing the enterprises' financial results, investments, guidance of economic activity, etc. But the basic contradiction of capitalism does not originate in the way decisions are made, but in ownership of the production means and in the relationships between their owners and those without ownership of the production means. In fact a change in the system of making decisions about the way the activity is performed and especially about distribution of the results of that activity is accordingly not a viable or fundamental reality unless capitalist private ownership is abolished and socialist ownership of the production means is instituted. The method of making decisions and the management function in general are dependent upon ownership relations.

In other western approaches, democracy and self-management are considered processes "inseparable" from decentralization of economic management and denial of the part played by the party and state and "requiring" unrestricted sway of the market factors and weakening or elimination of central planning, on the ground that only the market mechanisms permit rationalizing decisions on allocation of resources.

But experience proves that socialist ownership of the production means is indispensable to promotion of socialist economic democracy, but the latter is far more comprehensive, requiring equality of the members of society in regard to the production means but not being limited to that. Socialist economic democracy is brought about by means of a system of levers, ways and means enabling workers to function as actual subjects in the field of organization and management and as active factors in the process of making and applying economic decisions. Moreover socialist economic democracy means abolition not only of capitalist ownership but also of the distribution system stemming from the capital relationship, and institution of a form of distribution wherein the criterion of work performed applies alike to all members of society. That is the only way socialist ownership, work performed and equitable distribution of the results are integrated in a uniform system reflecting and defining the entirety of social relations and forming the basis of political democracy, while the latter in its turn consolidates and enhances economic democracy. The party secretary general said, "Moreover therein lies the basic difference between bourgeois democracy, based on capitalist power and ownership, on exploitation of the workers, and on profoundly unequal distribution of the national income, and socialist democracy, wherein exploitation and oppression no longer

exist, all wealth belongs to the people, and the national income is distributed on the principle 'from each according to ability and to each according to work.'"

Socialist democracy is going through a process of development and improvement in accordance with the stages of socialist construction and the particular tasks and conditions of each stage.

The formation of a broad and comprehensive system of socialist democratic bodies in the critical social field of material production was of theoretical and practical importance in this respect. This is graphically illustrated by the institutionalization of collective management and the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration in all economic and regional-administrative units in close correlation with the principle of uniform management of the national economy on the basis of the Unified National Plan and democratic centralism. This system includes all components of the economic structure from the enterprise up to the level of the national economy, as well as all fields (economic sectors, research, education, culture, etc.) from the workers councils in all economic and social units, the workers general assemblies and their county organs to the national congresses and national workers councils. The fact that over 40 percent of the membership of the workers councils operating on the level of the economic units are workers, technicians and craftsmen directly engaged in production is of fundamental importance. Alongside the state's democratic bodies (the people's councils, congress of people's councils, Grand National Assembly et al.) these new bodies reflecting workers revolutionary democracy form a broad structure for workers' participation in socioeconomic and all social management.

Workers self-management was accordingly instituted as a basic component of the operating mechanism of the socioeconomic system in Romania, furthering socialization of production, using the advantages and potentials of socialist production relations, consistently promoting both uniform management and the operational autonomy of the economic and social-cultural units, developing economic and social democracy, and also making for more responsible use and management of the national wealth by the workers. Through its implementing mechanism, workers self-management is integrated in the system of socialist production relations as a basic means of mass participation in decision-making and control of socioeconomic activity as well as an essential way in which socialist ownership operates and is implemented as a social relationship.

An important part in implementing the democratic principles of economic management is played by improvement of economic planning. Institution of the principle that planning begins with the basic economic, social-cultural and regional-administrative units, a greater role for the preliminary levels and standards of the plan, through which the basic units' proposals are

incorporated in the general balance, and a greater role for the economic centrals as plan administrators as well as greater responsibilities for the collective management organs in enterprises and centrals in formulating the plan proposals are primary considerations in this process.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Joint Plenum of the National Workers Council and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development in June 1987, the workers' three-fold capacity as producers, owners and beneficiaries of the results of work makes for more responsible development of their capacity as managers of socioeconomic activity, especially in regard to planning it. In the first place, it is a matter of their active participation in drafting the plan provisions, in finding opportunities to increase production and economic effectiveness, and in devising measures to apply those provisions. In the second place, this status of the workers also entails the obligation to participate vigorously and consistently in fulfilling the plan tasks and provisions punctually and with good quality and efficiency, and to help thereby to increase the contribution of every socialist unit and every collective to growth of the national income and to the accordingly greater possibilities of meeting the individual and general needs. And in the third place, the new status also involves the workers' control over the way the plan provisions are implemented and the material and financial resources are managed, as well as their obligation to fight for the defense and development of socialist ownership.

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Nicolae Dinut: "Improvement of the Institutional Structure of Workers Revolutionary Democracy"]

[Text] Continuing improvement of the system of socioeconomic organization and management in keeping with changes made by development of the production forces and of social and production relations and by the requirements of socialist civilization and progress is one of the essential points in the RCP policy for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism.

Consolidation of workers revolutionary democracy with its corollaries, workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, is the main direction of improvement of socialist democracy, which determines the nature of the Romanian social-political system and the evolution of the new order. In bringing out the consistency of the RCP's efforts in that direction, and the fact that the party has been giving first priority to development of socialist democracy as an essential aspect of socialist and communist construction, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "We must keep improving the democratic organizational structure for participation of the working masses and the entire people in purposeful construction of their own communist future, while demonstrating in reality that it is only in socialism and only when all political power is in the hands of the masses of workers that any true democracy can be achieved."

In implementing this far-reaching process of developing and improving the Romanian social-political system on the basis of scientific as well as democratic management of socialist society, the RCP proceeds from Romania's actual national conditions and from the requirements and distinctive features of each stage of socialist development. After the Ninth Party Congress, which inaugurated an era of radical innovations in Romanian socialist society, and on Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative and with his direct contribution a new, profoundly democratic, original and unique institutional system was created in Romania that includes all echelons of social activity from the socioeconomic units and local social-political bodies up to the national level.

The form and functions of this system were designed and regulated gradually, beginning with the rejection of one-man management and the institution of the management councils (1968) and then continuing with the establishment, by Law No 11 of 1971 on Organization and Management of the State Socialist Units, of the collective management organs (workers councils and workers general assemblies), which were subsequently developed and improved by the Regulation of the Operation of the Workers Council (1976), Law No 20 of 1977 (amended and supplemented in 1981) on the Congress of Workers Councils and the National Council of Workers in Industry, Construction and Transportation, Law No 5 of 1978 on Organization and Management of the State Socialist Units and on Their Operation on the Basis of Workers Self-Management and Economic-Financial Self-Administration, Decision of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on Consistent Application of the Principles of Self-Management and Self-Administration (July 1983), Law on Participation With Social Shares in the Formation of the Economic Development Fund on the Part of Workers in State Economic Units (1982), and the Law on the Pledge-Contract (1983).

The political-legal framework establishing the new quality of socialist democracy in Romania was also supplemented by a number of political, economic and organizational measures for purposes of improving the principles and methods of planned management and the economic-financial mechanism; simplifying the system of economic organization by establishing operational relationships between the primary level (the enterprise and the industrial central) and the economic ministries; improving regional-administrative organization while enhancing the role and functions of the local organs in management of the socioeconomic units within their jurisdictions; forming broadly representative party, state and public deliberative bodies such as the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, the Council for Economic and Social Organization, the Central Council for Workers Control of Economic and Social Activity, etc., which play a major role in planning, organization and control of all activity; setting periodic meetings of the congresses and working conferences of workers in various activities and forming corresponding

standing organs on the national level; improving the system for all workers' occupational and political-ideological training, etc.

The workers self-management system forms an inseparable tie between the existing democratic institutional structure and the requirements of the new economic-financial mechanism, providing thereby for the operational autonomy of the collective management bodies and involvement of the workers, directly or through representatives, in drafting, discussing, approving, controlling and analyzing the results of implementation of the decisions on socioeconomic activity and on organization and management of the economic and regional-administrative units. In pointing out the urgent need of direct and widespread involvement of the working class, through the self-management system, in the undertaking of building the fully developed socialist society, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "The working class, which overthrew the old order divided into antagonistic classes, eliminated the exploiting classes, and took the responsibility for building a classless society, must take direct action to attain that end. That is the vital problem for socialist construction. We cannot be satisfied merely with the principle that the working class is performing its role through the intermediary of those to whom it gives a mandate. That is all very well, but it is both better and more necessary for the workers to participate in management directly. That is the only way we will achieve the communist society."

This view of the RCP's on socialist democracy was implemented by increasing the number of workers representatives on the socioeconomic units' management councils and in all echelons of the decision-making system to 30-35 percent of their membership; by extending the mandates of the workers representatives in the collective management organs from 1 to 2 years; by making the secretary of the party organization, who is regularly elected from the workers, chairman of the workers council; by appointing one of the workers representatives on the workers council vice-chairman of the latter; by performance of the function of chairman of the workers general assembly by the president of the trade-union organization; by representation of over one-third of the workers in the National Workers Council, by the significant delegation of 4,000 directly productive workers out of the total 11,000 delegates to the Third Congress of Workers in Industry and Other Economic Sectors of Socialist Romania, and by the effort to secure the workers' almost total participation in the workers general assemblies in sections, factories, worksites, etc.

The presence of 412,800 workers, over 40 percent of whom are directly productive workers, craftsmen and technicians, on the 20,000 and more management councils is most impressive. In Romanian socialist society, therefore, the working class actually functions as the leading class. The combination of direct with indirect working class participation in all social management lends this activity a militant revolutionary spirit and

harmonizes the masses' creative ability and collective experience with the specialists' theoretical-scientific potential, with a favorable effect upon the decisions made and upon organization of the effort to carry out the plans and programs for socioeconomic development.

Socialism and communism require the combination of democracy with uniform management of all socioeconomic activity, upon which not only their characteristic major aims but also an optimal performance of all the bodies operating in society critically depend. Accordingly workers self-management rationally and harmoniously combines the collective management organs' right to make decisions with the demands of democratic centralism. Actually this basic principle of organization and operation of socialist society naturally involves new functions for workers self-management in order to make the most comprehensive use of the principles of workers democracy in formulating, discussing, approving and completely implementing decisions along with the obligatory fulfillment of the plan tasks and application of party decisions and laws of the land.

The RCP's constant effort to rationalize the relationship between uniform social management and workers self-management involves (pursuant to the guidelines and directions formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Joint Plenum of the National Workers Council and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development in June 1987) consistent application of the provisions of the law on compilation of the plan for centrals, as economic units operating on the principles of self-management and self-administration, and provision for its best fulfillment, elimination of malfunctions, prevention and elimination of duplications and overlapping of functions and powers as well as petty supervision of the units by the higher organs, and greater initiative and responsibility on the part of the enterprises and centrals in the performance of their own activities.

Close integration of uniform state management, on the basis of democratic centralism, with workers self-management is the major aim of socialist democratic development in the present stage of building the fully developed socialist society and that of increasing the workers' purposeful participation in all socioeconomic management. Constant improvement of workers self-management and development of the collective management organs' role, responsibility and efficiency enhance the democratic aspect of the principle of democratic centralism and make for better and better use of Romanian society's material and manpower potential for purposes of complete fulfillment of the development plans and programs and the strategic aim of the current five-year plan, namely Romania's transition to a higher stage of development, that of a medium developed socialist country. Moreover improvement of the operating mechanism of self-management calls for a harmonious combination of the workers democratic organs' activity with

that of the state organs, as they supplement each other and secure the organized participation of all social categories and the entire people in national management.

Development of democracy in socialist society is a constant, lengthy and very comprehensive process for purposes of transition to communist self-management, determined by a number of objective and subjective factors affecting the development of socialist society by their permanent or temporary action. Among these factors, the developmental level of production relations and social relations in general, changes in the economic and social structures, the levels of general training, culture and awareness, the historical-national values and traditions and those of democratic organization, the international political situation, etc., are the most important.

In the evolution of the new order, the shift to workers self-management meets the requirements of socialist development and is becoming the optimal method of scientific organization and management of the new society, being also a necessary stage in the advance toward communism. Integration of workers self-management in current development of socialist and future communist society greatly enhances the value of that essential aim of improving socialist democracy as well as the efforts to secure its best operation and to completely fulfill its potentials. The good results obtained in the 20 years of application of the system of widespread participation of the masses of workers in social management in Romania bear out the correctness of the RCP's theoretical policies and practical political efforts to base socioeconomic organization and management squarely on the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration.

[No 20, 25 Oct 87 pp 14-20]

[Text] The RCP and its secretary general formulated a scientific, innovating view of the inseparable unity of socialism and democracy, bringing out the role and importance of workers revolutionary democracy as an essential factor for building the new order and socialist and communist construction.

In the light of this broad, long-range view a number of measures were taken over the years since the Ninth RCP Congress to improve the performance of all components of the political system, on the principles of socialist democracy and workers self-management. This created a broad, democratic and unique structure for the workers' and the people's direct and active participation in socioeconomic and all social management. [One sentence deleted.]

Practical experience has confirmed the viability of the RCP's policy of further developing and enhancing workers revolutionary democracy and also revealed the necessity of constantly evaluating and improving the series of relationships, principles and efforts of the institutions whereby the inherent unity of socialism and democracy is implemented.

In view of these considerations ERA SOCIALISTA published in No 19, 1987 the first part of a series of articles examining the many aspects of the inherent correlation between socialism and democracy. The first part took up, among other things, the requirements for harmonizing the relationships between uniform social management and development of socialist democratism, development of party leadership as a major requirement for enhancing socialist democratism, improvement of the institutional structure of workers revolutionary democracy, etc. We are publishing the second part of the series in this issue.

[Article by Univ Lecturer Dr Constantin Nica: "Socialist Democracy and Human Rights"]

[Text] Socialism revolutionizes the human condition by winning freedom, instituting social and national equality, and forming the necessary structure for full manifestation of the producers of material and intellectual values in the socioeconomic and political fields. By providing a broad field for action and fulfillment of mankind's perennial aspirations, the new order changes the individual's position in society as a whole and in the political system, and he becomes the decisive and sole motive factor for the formation of communist civilization.

This distinctive feature of socialism is strikingly confirmed by socialist Romania's experience and appropriately reflected in the RCP's programmatic political policy and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and practical activity. The party secretary general's basic innovating views on the political and social values that socialism promotes and on the nature and destiny of man eloquently bear out the fact that no other social system has felt the need of such profound consideration of the quality of human life and of man's fulfillment as a political being or has devoted so many practical efforts to it. Unrestricted expression of every individual's creative capacities and the actual exercise of his fundamental rights and freedoms directly and critically depend upon the social structure, especially that characteristic of the national state wherein the individual or the people (the community to which any citizen belongs) performs his activity.

Humanism and human rights, which are better synthesized politically in a democracy, are inseparable from the nature of the social system and of the leading class in society and from the stand the latter takes on the social-political values. If a society fosters individualism and selfishness and if it is based on inequality and exploitation, man and, on the social scale, the oppressed classes are mere means of making a profit. Consequently wherever there are oppressors and the oppressed dehumanization and political-social alienation are accentuated and erode the personality. In speaking of that correlation, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "There can be no real democracy, freedom or assurance of the basic human rights in a society that does not afford masses of

millions the essential opportunity to earn their living by work and to share in decisions that concern their own existence and their own future." Inevitably in contemporary capitalism there is an increasingly pronounced gap between what is established by legal standards and what is actually done in social practice, although a number of rights and freedoms are proclaimed, and the historical and class limitations of democracy are continually accentuated.

Social-political experience refutes the alleged superiority of bourgeois democracy, persistently presented as the "optimal structure" for achieving human ideals and aspirations, and demonstrates the inseparable unity of socialism and democracy. Being historical and dialectical, this necessary correlation of course depends upon the stage of construction of the new order and the particulars of each country's revolutionary process.

In Romania, the present form of profoundly democratic social organization and management is the outcome of a process of radical structural changes made in the years of socialism and especially in the last 20 years both in the entire social system and in its main sectors. The radical qualitative changes that restructured society and through it the destinies and lives of the people as well as their rights and freedoms were the factors and requirements for instituting a kind of democracy new in history, and one of the age-old ideals of the advanced social and political forces was achieved under party leadership through Nicolae Ceausescu's revolutionary activity and creative thinking. Coordinated today by the nature of Romanian socialist society, workers revolutionary democracy epitomizes social and national freedom and the dignity of every man and every citizen. It is also indispensable to rapid progress and to performance of the far-reaching tasks of the revolutionary process, as a powerful motive force placed in service of the people's vital interests and the nation's all-around prosperity.

As the appropriate structure for mobilizing and involving the people in social management, socialist democracy is also the means to true representation of social justice and equity and the vital interests of all categories of workers in the spirit of revolutionary humanism. It has also become essential as a means of indoctrinating the individual in his new historical capacity as the purposeful subject of social action. Accordingly, Romanian socialist democracy is also proving to be a true civic school for training managers as well as the masses and for assimilation of the advanced social and political values on the individual level. In that way socialism has made a radical change in the very nature of power by establishing a complete unity between the people and the political institutions, especially those with management functions. The nature of this qualitative change is illustrated primarily by the fact that the political power in socialist Romania is exercised for the first time in the nation's history solely by those who work and in their interest, as the traditional separation of the managers from the masses with its profoundly bad sociohuman

effects is eliminated. In that way democracy is regaining its true significance and has unlimited possibilities for progress in the field of social existence and action.

The new socialist society is built by and for the workers with the active and unanimous support of the people, who share in making decisions both through the traditional political institutions (the party, the state, etc.) and through the new revolutionary and profoundly democratic administrative bodies. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "On that basis we believe that the democratic system formed in Romania can demonstrate its superiority over any traditional, so-called representative democracy. We proceed from the fact that under the present conditions characterized by the growing role of the masses and the peoples in social development, we must create new and democratic forms that will permit the peoples to participate in management directly and not just through their representative organs. Therefore we formulated the principle that we are building socialism with and for the people."

Experience in the years of socialism and especially in the period following the Ninth RCP Congress shows that the workers democratic and self-management bodies are successfully assuming the tasks flowing from the continuity of the revolutionary process. Actually, mass participation in management is indispensable to normal social evolution. In the present stage of building the new order, the inseparable unity of socialism and democracy is reflected by the fact that as socialism asserts its superiority more and more emphatically, democracy in its turn demonstrates its growing capacity to meet the tasks and objectives generating development and progress, the political-social implications of the rapid revolution in science and technology, and the requirements for harmonious development of the personality.

The development of socialism and continuing improvement of democracy are associated with free development of every worker's aptitudes and capacities, with expansion of the civil, individual and social rights and freedom, and with the necessary provisions for complete implementation of the principles of humanism, because the social relations are based squarely upon justice, equality and equity.

Romanian society guarantees every citizen the right to a living in keeping with the results of his work and training and according to his aptitudes and abilities. Socialism emphasizes the rights that capitalism cannot guarantee, namely the right to freedom, the right to work and to its results, the right to participate directly in management of all social activities, etc. Moreover, once exploitation of any kind is eliminated, socialism institutes actual equality among all workers regardless of nationality or political, philosophical or religious convictions and completely excludes economic and political discrimination between sexes, on racial grounds, etc.

To an equal extent, the Romanian system of civil rights and freedoms is based upon the actual guarantee of the human rights that permit broadening of the individual's knowledge and require an unlimited field of action and responsibility for him as the builder of the new society. This category of rights includes the right to education, the right of access to modern scientific advances, and the rights to instructions and choice of a profession in keeping with personal aptitudes and qualifications, providing not only for the individual's complete integration in society and a synchronization of his own interests with those of the community but also for greater responsibility in the exercise of civil and constitutional rights. Along with fulfillment of the individual personality, all this keeps bringing the nation up to new heights of progress and civilization and strengthens the people's moral-political unity, the emancipation of each being inseparable from the emancipation and progress of society as a whole.

In Romania the workers as producers, owners and sole beneficiaries of the national wealth and all material and cultural values enjoy all the civil rights and freedoms. Actually, in only a few decades radical changes have been made in all citizens' material and cultural existence, while increasingly wide categories of the urban and rural population are rising to higher levels of civilization today and benefiting by a way of life to which the generations before World War II did not even dare to aspire.

Equality at law and in fact of all members of society and the opportunities for full use of everyone's energy and talents for the good of the nation and the cause of socialism and communism apply to all workers of all nationalities. The profoundly democratic and revolutionary solution of the minorities problem, in the spirit of friendship and brotherhood between the Romanian people and the national minorities and by guaranteeing full equality of rights in all fields among all citizens of the common fatherland, is one of the most notable achievements of socialist construction and promotion of socialist democracy in Romania. Accordingly the fact that the unified national state as a socialist state reflects the vital interests of the Romanian people and the minorities while all workers participate without restriction in the exercise of power on the local and national levels is characteristic of Romania's political and state organization. Romania's experience in permanent solution of the minorities problem has profound political-social, cultural and economic implications in both theory and practice.

Experience and the facts emphatically bring out the contrast between the true and false values in promoting the policy on human rights. Actually the attempts of the reactionary imperialist circles to distort the state of human rights in the countries building the new order are nothing less than an interference in those countries' internal affairs and attempts to deny, distort or minimize the gains of socialism and the superiority of the

civilization that the new order is building. Moreover those attempts are completely refuted by experience and by all that the Romanian people as well as the peoples of other countries have accomplished by their work and creative efforts in the years of socialism, proving by their rise to the status of sole masters of their own fate that they know how to manage and lead their countries incomparably better than the former ruling classes did.

The problems of human rights, in all their diversity and complexity, can be really solved only within each country, through the coordinated efforts and contributions of all the sons of the respective nation. Moreover the humanitarian questions, in their entirety, cannot be divorced from but are directly connected with the struggle against the exploiting classes and reactionary circles for revolutionary social reform, for satisfaction of the workers' basic needs, and for socialism. Socialism alone can truly fulfill the people's highest aspirations and provide for the most complete democracy.

[Article by Dana Popescu: "The State Promoting Workers Revolutionary Democracy"]

[Text] The victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation in August 1944 inaugurated a process of radical innovations in all areas of society that had a telling effect upon further expansion of the social base of political power and upon the formation of a kind of state new in history.

Once it acquired political and economic power, the working class in alliance with the peasantry and intelligentsia became a new class, the owners, producers and beneficiaries of all national resources. In that capacity it became the leading class of all society, holding and exercising political power jointly with the entire people and in their interest. Gradually, in the course of a continuous revolutionary process of constant quantitative accumulations and qualitative changes, the state as the chief instrument of political power became a striking reflection of democratic social management.

The principles and guidelines set by the Ninth Party Congress opened up new prospects for the Romanian socialist state's role and functions and for relations among society, the state and the citizens on a truly democratic basis. As a result the Romanian socialist state underwent fundamental changes brought about by the continuous process of revolutionary reform of society and further democratization of its activity.

From one historical stage to the next, many improvements were made in the Romanian socialist state both in its content and nature and in the performance of its functions. It has been constantly functioning as the organizer of all socioeconomic activity and accentuating its democratic features on the basis of its growing integration in society, the masses' more and more widespread participation in management of all activities, and promotion of workers self-management. As Nicolae

Ceausescu says, the Romanian socialist system is chiefly characterized by the fact that power is in the hands of the working class allied with the peasantry and intelligentsia, and that the principle of state government by the people is implemented. That reflects the very essence of socialist democracy, the most comprehensive and authentic democracy known to all civilization.

In view of the fact, confirmed by social experience, that socialist revolution is the outcome of the struggle of the working class in alliance with the other social forces and categories interested in a better and more just society and that socialism as a mass undertaking is built with and for the people, Nicolae Ceausescu said that the political power in Romania is undergoing major qualitative changes and taking the form of an increasingly democratic power in the course of construction of the fully developed socialist society. That is why the Romanian socialist state has been quite rightly defined as a workers revolutionary democratic state. The party secretary general says, "This concept corresponds to the new social realities and emphasizes the superiority of socialism and communism as the most democratic and humane system, wherein the people are creating their own future purposefully and in complete freedom."

The Romanian socialist state's transition from the stage of a dictatorship of the proletariat to a workers revolutionary democratic state has many theoretical and practical-political implications. Of course the transition is not to be understood in the sense that the state power became democratic just at that point, but in the sense that the democratism of the state power is being increasingly accentuated in the present stage and is taking effect fully and in depth and comprising all social classes and categories and the entire people. In other words, the democracy of the great majority of the population has become the democracy of the entire people, of the socialist nation as a whole, and of all Romanian citizens without distinction.

Indeed, the socialist system enables all social classes and categories and all citizens regardless of race, sex or nationality to participate in freedom and full equality in socioeconomic and political activity and in all social management. Of course the people's participation in management in increasingly diversified ways and their exercise of their prerogatives as sovereign holders of power on all levels and in all activities certainly do not mean that the workers revolutionary democratic state is giving up its functions or that its role as the sole organizer and coordinator of social processes and phenomena is weakened. On the contrary, they are contributing to the growth of that role, to the more efficient performance of the state's functions, and to consolidation and improvement of the whole political system.

Adoption of the concept of the workers revolutionary democratic state reflected an objective necessity inevitably occasioned by the radical revolutionary reforms instituted in the years of socialist construction and

especially in the last two decades, which reforms lent the Romanian state new distinctive features and a profoundly democratic, revolutionary and working-class character.

The Romanian socialist state's democratic character lies in the fact that the political power belongs to the entire people, who have the critical part to play in the revolutionary process and in making the great changes required by Romania's transition to the new stage of a medium developed socialist country during the current five-year plan. The RCP sees the socialist state's role in an inseparable correlation with consistent development of socialist democracy and is making a constant effort to strengthen the state's ties with the people, so that the state organs will be constantly supported in their activity by the masses of workers, will consistently and firmly protect the workers' interests, and will be under the entire people's regular control.

The Romanian socialist state is also one of workers democracy, since it is guided by the working-class ideology and was born in their struggle for political power and for social reform on a new, socialist basis. Meanwhile the expansion and diversification of the ways and means of the entire people's participation in socioeconomic management is creating a new, better and effective structure for promoting the working class as the leading social force of society. The state's working-class character is also acquiring new qualities from further strengthening of the working class alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia and the other social categories and from consolidation of the people's socialist unity around the RCP and its secretary general.

The Romanian state's revolutionary character follows from its role as the chief instrument of socialist and communist construction, while construction of the new order is a continuous revolutionary process that will still be going on in communism too. Actually the process will never end.

As socialist construction reaches new and higher levels the people's power takes increasingly diverse forms and society is managed in a broad institutional-organizational structure that forms the workers revolutionary democratic system. In that system, the party is the vital center of the nation. The fact is well known that since the Ninth RCP Congress Nicolae Ceausescu has rethought both the exercise of the party's political leadership and the organization and functions of the Romanian socialist state, as well as the correct correlation of party-state relations, from a profoundly scientific and innovative point of view. Thanks to his creative thinking and revolutionary political activity, integration of party, state and public activity has become a distinctive feature of the Romanian socialist democratic system. It was also specified that party leadership does not replace the state organs under any circumstances, and it does not and cannot lessen their responsibility to the laws and the people in any way. It is the party's high mission to be the

leading, organizing and mobilizing force of all socioeconomic activity, while it is the role of the workers revolutionary democratic state to carry out the party's domestic and foreign policies in practice and to take the necessary steps for the further consolidation of the country and its all-round development.

The party is deeply interested in the consolidation and efficiency of the state and its organs, because the better the state functions the stronger the party's political leadership becomes. On the other hand, the growing development of party leadership enhances the efficiency of state management and the state's ability to perform its social role.

The RCP and its secretary general scientifically formulated the principle that the socialist state plays an increasingly important part in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and of the advance toward communism because it provides the organizational structure for efficient performance of all activities according to the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development. The state's greater role in this stage is critical for the success of the entire program for bringing Romania up to ever higher levels of civilization.

In the present stage the state and its organs cannot be replaced by any other social body. Clearly the socialist state performs its growing role and increasingly far-reaching tasks through the intermediary of its functions, whose content evolves and improves to meet the demands of each stage of socialist construction.

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi: "Role of the Mass and Public Organizations"]

[Text] Social-historical experience in socialist construction in Romania as well as the experience of other countries building the new order brings the inherent and objectively necessary correlation between socialism and democracy into sharp relief, as well as the fact that a realistic, scientific policy of democratic social organization and management must always take account of the particular conditions in which that process goes on within each country.

The notable progress made by the RCP in creating and improving the workers revolutionary democratic system has a solid foundation in the radically innovating points in its policy of all-around national development inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress under the impetus of Nicolae Ceausescu's bold, original and broadly perceptive thinking. In general, that system includes a series of institutions and bodies through which the people's political power is constituted and exercised, namely the RCP, the socialist state, the twofold party and state organs, the mass and public organizations, the FDUS, and the new democratic bodies for workers self-management.

The mass and public organizations have a place apart in the Romanian socialist democratic system, and they are playing a comprehensive and increasingly important part in its operating mechanism. Grouping the various categories of workers according to age, sex and occupational, economic, social, cultural, scientific and other criteria, they are intended to secure the people's organized participation in making and implementing general party policy, and they are accordingly active factors for democratic socialist society. As we know political decisions are not "sums" of acts of individual will but reflect the general collective will and vital interests common to the entire people and to the various categories and collectives of workers as well. Being broad and comprehensive, the series of mass and public organizations provide many opportunities to combine society's general interests with the economic, professional, cultural and other interests of any given category of workers.

As the mass and public organizations participate in democratic social management, their members' interests are correlated with the general interests of society, so that all categories of workers are integrated in the social community as a whole. Meanwhile participation in social management through the mass and public organizations includes their members' active and responsible commitment and revolutionary reform of all socioeconomic activities as first considerations. Therefore the mass and public organizations (trade unions, youth and women's organizations, professional and cooperative associations, etc.) specially emphasize increasing their own contributions to the tasks of every workers collective. At the same time they combine their efforts with those of other educational elements in the general political-educational effort to form the new man and to raise the workers' general level of professional, cultural-scientific and political knowledge and training. Formulation of this essentially new role for the mass and public organizations in political and social organization is one of the original contributions of the party and its secretary general to development of revolutionary theory and practice and of scientific socialism.

The structure and ways of performing the mass and public organizations' activity have been steadily improved in the last 22 years, enhancing their contribution to implementation of party policy and opening up new prospects for developing their own role of uniting all categories of workers under party leadership in the task of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism.

Of all the mass and public organizations, the trade unions play a particularly important part in mobilizing the efforts of the working class because they make up the largest mass organization for that class. Their present role and responsibilities have been determined gradually, in close connection with the changes made in the socioeconomic base of the Romanian political system and in its form and functions, in the course of which process the old concepts and practices whereby the trade

unions were treated as mere "driving belts" between the party and the masses were abandoned. Reflecting the new social-political status of the working class, which has been converted from an exploited class with no production means to a leading class owning all of the national wealth jointly with the entire people, the trade unions now provide the structure for exercise of the workers' rights and obligations as producers, owners and beneficiaries. It is accordingly their mission to organize working-class participation in management of all activities and to contribute thereby to the performance of that class' historical role in social management. In that way the trade unions coordinate their activity with that of the RCP as the leading political force of all society and with that of the socialist state as the supreme representative of the people's power, and they are harmoniously integrated in the general uniform system of national social-political management.

The fact is significant that the trade unions have been invested with extensive functions in order to perform their active role, since they are directly involved in the activities of the state organs, of the workers self-management bodies from the local up to the central level, of the party and state organs, etc. The trade unions' important role in the system of workers self-management bodies greatly increases their opportunities for responsible involvement in economic and social management as well as their responsibility for exemplary fulfillment of the developmental plans and programs, appropriate solution of the problems of improving the workers professional, scientific, technical, economic and general-cultural training, further improvement of living and working conditions, consistent application of the remuneration norms, consolidation of order and discipline, improvement of the own organizational structure of trade-union democracy, and consolidation of their ties with the masses.

In close correlation with the revolutionary reforms being made in social and political relations, the development of Romanian socialist democracy has also instituted a new social status and a suitable organizational structure for women, thus permitting integration of the vast potential of that extensive social category in the general effort toward socialist construction and making women's equality with men really possible in all socioeconomic activities. Women's participation in all of Romania's economic, social and political activities (a permanent point after the Ninth RCP Congress in the party policy of promoting equality of all members of Romanian society) is taking various forms and acquiring real content because of the existence and improvement of the women's movement's own organizational-institutional system, which movement is represented, like other mass and public organizations, in all social management bodies. By uniting all urban and rural and intellectual and domestic working women of all nationalities, the women's organizations are playing an increasingly active part under party leadership in the task of building the fully developed socialist society.

Meanwhile provision for participation of all categories of youths in social management alongside the other workers is an inseparable aspect of Romanian socialist democracy. That is the reason for intensive promotion of the active role of Romanian youth and its revolutionary organizations, which have been invested with heavy responsibilities for training and educating youths through and for work, raising their political-ideological level, and mobilizing and uniting their enthusiasm and energies with those of the whole nation in socialist and communist construction. That is why, in the course of building the uniform system of workers revolutionary democracy, youth has a vital place of its own in the membership of the socioeconomic management bodies, from the people's councils and workers councils to the government and the party's national democratic forums and leading organs.

In view of the main demand upon the performance of the socialist democratic system, namely use of the whole democratic potential of every one of its institutional components and accordingly of every one of the mass and public organizations, a real qualitative change was made when the mass and public organizations were united alongside the RCP in one broadly representative political body by creating the FDUS. Operating under party leadership, the FDUS and the component mass and public organizations as well as its own organizations (the ODUS) maintain their existence and distinctive features, being integrated in the overall operation of the socialist democratic system. The FDUS unites and coordinates the efforts of all the social and political forces in Romania, playing an essential part in Romanian society's democratism and being closely and permanently involved in the democratic management system.

The content and particular ways of citizens' involvement in the socioeconomic and political activity performed in and through the FDUS are indicated by the important functions of that body, which takes an active part in drafting and discussing the plans and programs for socioeconomic development, coordinates the component organizations' activities in matters of general interest, and provides for their active cooperation in order to solve public problems. The FDUS organizes discussion of draft laws and decisions by the workers and the entire people, consultation of the citizens on questions of management and development of every locality, electoral campaigns, public assemblies at the "Tribune of Democracy," workers' public control, etc.

Implementation of the 13th Party Congress' historic decisions, which the Third FDUS Congress adopted as its own operational program, requires the best performance of the role of every component mass and public organization. Performance of the far-reaching role and functions of the mass and public organizations is guaranteed by party management (the fundamental principle of their existence and activities) of Romanian society's whole system of social-political organization. Exercise of party leadership reflects the need of a new and higher

quality of the work the communists are doing as members of the various mass and public organizations, which is essential to development of those organizations' particular role in the harmonious democratic development of Romanian socialist society.

[Article by Cornelia Costin: "Revolutionary Awareness as the Motivating Force for Democratic Social Development"]

[Text] Essentially, the socialist system is the reflection of the masses' purposeful participation in building and managing the new society. Socialism is built with and for the people and therefore the people are the ones who decide how the society they themselves have purposefully built should appear. Development of socialist democracy is an objective necessity in this respect, since it meets a basic requirement of socialist construction, namely the entire people's participation in socioeconomic management, either directly or through their representatives.

Enhancement of the democratic aspect of Romanian society is an unquestionable reality of the last two decades, brilliantly characterized by the innovating guidelines of the Ninth RCP Congress and by the new and unique institutional structure created in that period on Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative.

In the present stage of Romania's development, revolutionary awareness and formation of the new man are indispensable to the efficient performance of the workers revolutionary democratic system and full use of its new organizational structures. It goes without saying that only an advanced political awareness, communist habits and convictions, and display of the revolutionary spirit in thought and deed can really enable every member of society to regard and perform his particular job in such a way that it will be permanently and closely related to the tasks and objectives of general development and to the aspirations of the entire people.

The workers' growing participation in management of national affairs and in making and implementing policy for building the fully developed socialist society is the main direction of the Romanian democratic system's evolution. Of course if it is to be effective that participation must be competent and responsible. As the party secretary general said at the Third Congress on Socialist Political and Cultural Education, "We must not for a moment forget that construction of the new social system and Romania's further progress are feasible solely on the basis of the latest advances of science, technology and culture and of human knowledge in general." Accordingly, real development of democracy demands further improvement of all workers' competence and professional and scientific training, broadening of their horizons of culture and knowledge, improvement of their political and ideological levels, mastery by the

masses of some basic disciplines in the science of social management, and greater initiative and responsibility on their part in their whole activity.

Accordingly there is a dialectical interaction between workers revolutionary democracy and socialist awareness that is ultimately reflected in their common goal, namely the rapid, harmonious all-around development of the whole social structure as well as that of the personality of the new man as a dedicated builder of socialism and communism.

Experience refutes the theory of democracy's so-called incompatibility with scientific social management, which is maintained by some exponents of the monopolist bourgeoisie, by demonstrating that it is possible and necessary to bring out their inherent unity under socialist conditions. Management of contemporary societies has indeed become a highly complicated activity requiring not only an advanced scientific training but also the people's purposeful participation in socioeconomic administration. In its turn mass participation in social management depends upon correct understanding of the socioeconomic phenomena and continuing improvement of the general-cultural, scientific, professional and political-cultural levels of the masses. The RCP secretary general says, "Development of democracy heavily depends upon improvement of the entire people's political-ideological level and socialist awareness. That is the only way participation in socioeconomic management will be actual and not perfunctory."

In the RCP's view the masses' purposeful participation in social-political and economic management is no end in itself but is intended to synthesize the collective wisdom and will of the masses and to enhance the social-political effectiveness of the approved decisions, laws and measures, for the success of socialist construction and Romania's rise to new heights of progress and civilization. Participation requires, enlists and encourages the sense of responsibility, competence, judgment, creative power and initiative of every individual and his community. Generalizing the principle of collective labor and management in all areas and on all levels of Romanian society is particularly important in this connection, since it combines the possibility of effectively applying technical-scientific, organizational and cultural qualifications with that of exploiting the energies and creative powers of the masses in a single process of scientific social management. Participation has great formative-revolutionary and educational potentials for this purpose, and it not only enhances living conditions but also develops the personality and awareness in keeping with the revolutionary changes in social practice.

Like political activity, however, participation does not evolve automatically but through increasingly intensive promotion of RCP leadership, which is the main factor for forming and developing the masses' revolutionary awareness and for expanding and enhancing socialist

democracy. In Romanian society participation, guaranteed by appropriate institutional forms, is both a result and a requirement of development to higher levels of revolutionary socialist awareness. Accordingly the RCP stresses the need of intensive development of both democracy and awareness in their interdependence as critical factors for building the fully developed socialist society. Moreover, while emphasizing the dialectical connection between participation and socialist awareness, the RCP is making an intensive ideological and political-educational effort and developing all party and state education and all means of forming and raising the general level of communist knowledge and education of all members of society. Sound knowledge of the social laws is particularly important in this connection, as well as thorough assimilation of party policy and the aims and tasks of every stage.

Accordingly, democratic participation in social management calls for development of socialist awareness which, in its turn, enhances commitment and initiative and consequently the level and effectiveness of participation. Meanwhile participation, commitment and initiative enhance the advanced awareness of the new man as a builder of socialist and communist society.

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Nicolae Lotreanu: "Socialist Democracy and Culture"]

[Text] Contemporary Romanian society and the democratism of the Romanian political system cannot be correctly understood or judged without scrupulously careful consideration of the structural innovations made in the years of socialism in all areas of material and cultural existence, in society's set of values, and in the entire nation's destiny.

In the whole magnificent undertaking of building the new order, the great achievements of the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress stand out brilliantly, and they are inseparably associated with the prodigious, far-sighted and profoundly creative activity of Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic, under whose wise leadership in the last two decades the Romanian people have made the greatest progress in their entire history. The achievements of that period are to be seen in every area of society and are convincing evidence that socialist Romania now provides all members of Romanian society with equal opportunities for expression in all creative material and intellectual activities.

The Romanian socialist system is chiefly characterized by power in the hands of the working class allied with the peasantry and by practical application of the principle of state governance by the people. This reflects the very essence of socialist democracy. In the party's view democracy, so far from being confined to any one of its

possible or real aspects, must cover all areas of national existence, among which culture has a place apart and a growing importance in forming fully democratic social relations.

Cultural democratization, primarily in the sense of effective generalization of the masses' access both to creative cultural activity and to appreciation of same, may be quite rightly considered a major reflection of the democratism of Romanian social organization. When it undertook that aim Romanian society had no few difficulties to overcome. In the Romania of the first years after 23 August 1944, the social renovation for which the people had opted included, among other major reforms, elimination of illiteracy and of the huge gap between the cultural elite of the old society and the masses with their low level of instruction. That was because a social democracy of the nature and scope of the one promoted by the RCP certainly could not develop without raising the general levels of knowledge, training, comprehension and culture of the masses of workers. Culture accordingly became an inseparable structural component of social action, while active participation in creative scientific and cultural activity became more and more necessary as increasingly broad masses were converted from mere objects of social action to active and responsible subjects of it.

This historic change made radical changes in the relationship between culture and the masses, and it led to abolition in practice as well as in principle of any social or ethnic discrimination or that of age or sex in the cultural field and to formation of a structure favoring unrestricted access of all members of society to the cultural values. This permitted integration of values hitherto reserved for the privileged circles in general social circulation and made culture a possession of the entire people.

By doing away with inequalities of any kind, socialism instituted equal opportunities for access to culture. Moreover, the right to culture became a social duty and requirement because revolutionary commitment to construction of the new order and development of one's own personality directly and critically depend, in socialist society, upon every citizen's assimilation of the cultural values.

While interpretations of democracy still differ in today's world and will continue to do so, nevertheless there is increasingly widespread agreement that democracy is essential to man's progress. From that standpoint the interdependence of culture and democracy appears to us as a productive basis of understanding as well as a criterion for evaluating the various kinds of democracy. Culture not only defines a certain kind of democracy to a great extent but also plays a vital part in determining the social depth of its manifestation. Therefore the RCP regards the unity and interdependence of culture and democracy as a natural reality and a necessity for the continuous and simultaneous development of the two

social processes. The socialist system reflects the natural unity of two processes so important to man and so often contrasted throughout his history, namely action and culture, with their present primary aspects, democracy and knowledge (science).

It goes without saying that what is most important is a specific relationship between these two institutions of modern society that will provide not only for unrestricted development of culture in both its mass and its specialized forms but also for continuous stimulation of democracy through an improvement, also continuous, in the masses' level of knowledge, instruction and culture by means of a new political culture. The RCP's options for intensive development of science and education and for promotion of permanent education and of the ways and means of "producing" and disseminating culture are illustrative and cogent in that respect.

Generalization and democratization of education (primarily meaning generalizing social teaching and making education a productive social process while intensively encouraging all workers' cultural creativity at the great National Contarea Romaniei Festival) are exemplary ways to secure further development of democracy. They are accordingly lending socialist democracy a new and historic trump card in its unlimited possibilities for development, in addition to its objective superiority thanks to the new kind of social relations based on socialist ownership.

Romanian society is now in a new stage, that of improving general activity on the basis of the accumulations made in all fields in the years of socialism and greatly accelerated in the last two decades. Any period of this kind involves new requirements and course of action. Full use of the possibilities of the new kind of social relations and promotion of a new human quality depend upon the creative power of the social system and of people in general. In this context of revolutionary changes culture is undergoing a process of renovation and benefiting by a new structure and a new climate provided by socialist democracy in its constant development. The cultural-artistic values produced in the years since the Ninth RCP Congress are graphic evidence of the advancement of talent and creative thought in all social environments and sure signs of the birth of a new society and a new man.

The National Cintarea Romaniei Festival is a striking reflection of the masses' enormous creative power and of all workers' participation in revolutionary and cultural education in the spirit of Romanian socialist democracy. It became a true force in those years for development of a new culture wherein the people are the controlling factor. Organized at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion, the festival in each of its versions gave rise to extensive educational, political-ideological and cultural-artistic activities as well as creative scientific and technical ones that encouraged the masses' initiative and their direct

participation in creation and appreciation of the Romanian socialist nation's material and cultural values, enriched and diversified the whole country's culture, and enhanced the contribution of the people's creative genius to the national and universal cultural heritage. None of these would have been possible without a real symbiosis between culture and democracy or without democratic encouragement of the cultural media, whether professional or amateur. Socialist Romania's achievements are indicative of a cultural policy consistently promoting the principle of freedom of creation, which is included in the broad context of the rights and freedoms instituted and guaranteed by the new order.

The freedom of creation is implemented in the first place by the democratization of cultural institutions and by the new structure, which provide for unrestricted democratic participation of a great many scholars and workers in various fields in formulating and implementing the cultural policy. Furthermore, the strong amateur movement and the masses' wide access to the cultural output are striking reflections of the implementation of freedom of creation (as well as requirements for it) through cultivation and diversification of the taste for culture and development of the mass of appreciators of cultural activity.

The Third Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture was another instance of the power of workers revolutionary democracy, emphatically demonstrating the superiority of the Romanian socialist system, wherein the people and the whole system of educators and cultural creators are working in unison under party leadership for the continuing progress of intellectual activity and improvement of the workers general level of knowledge and culture.

Along with their effort to strengthen the material base of cultural-artistic activity, the party and state are encouraging unrestricted development of the creators' personalities, further improvement of their craftsmanship and media of express, and diversification of their styles and approaches.

In keeping with the RCP's profoundly democratic and humanistic policy on culture, any creative and constructive initiative naturally has its place and a climate favorable to its acceptance and appreciation by the masses. Art, literature and culture as a whole are a leaven of democracy while also benefiting by the general democratic climate, so that the new kind of culture generated in history by socialist society is becoming more and more a life style and a way of life in revolution and for revolution.

Yugoslav Daily Discusses Status of Minorities
28000084 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10 Feb 88 p 7

[Article by Milovan Jaukovic: "Minorities in the Makeup of a 'United' Nationality"]

[Text] Although it is of heterogeneous ethnic composition like most European countries, today only Romanians and Romanians of foreign origin live in the Socialist Republic of Romania. This might be a simplified answer to the question of how the position of ethnic minorities has been defined in this neighboring country. Terminological and semantic shades of meaning are not, of course, used only as an embellishment in the official vocabulary, but this does convey the full essence of the conception that Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, and Croats are not ethnic minorities at all, but only Romanian citizens of differing origin.

The place and role of the minority in Romanian society have been defined, it is said, "on the basis of Marxism and Leninism and the principle of scientific socialism." For official Bucharest this has removed the question from the agenda once and for all. This approach, however, has been the source of many disagreements both past and present. First of all, in relations between Bucharest and Budapest. The dispute over the alleged violation of the rights of Hungarians in Romania moved last year from the waters of scholarly polemics to the highest political level.

A Common Destiny

This outcome has once again moved a very sensitive question into the foreground: What is really the position today of ethnic minorities in Romania? Today this is at the same time the most awkward topic for conversation, and the channels of communication are open only for a verbatim recital of official views.

The official doctrine is premised on the view that there exists only the united socialist Romanian nationality. Here the criterion of ethnic background and identification is the mother tongue, not actual ethnic origin as is the case in other European states. The result of this kind of recognition is usually manifested in practice in the form of negating the existence of any ethnic minority. It thus turns out, for example, that there are no Jews as an ethnic minority in Romania, although before 756,000 of them were registered, while Jewish organizations in the world say that there are approximately that same number even today.

According to the figures given in the publication "Romania in 1987," 10.9 percent of the total population of 23 million belong to various nationalities. The largest group is that of the Hungarians, 7.7 percent, then Germans 1.5 percent, followed by Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, and Bulgarians.

Members of ethnic minorities in Romania are today sharing a more or less common fate as minorities. Only the position of Romanian Germans has been improved to some extent; an intergovernmental treaty between West Germany and Romania has made it easier for them to emigrate. That is why the opinion is expressed quite frequently that Bonn is "buying" its fellow countrymen! According to information which has leaked out of diplomatic circles in Bucharest, the further survival of this treaty was seriously jeopardized during the recent visit of Genscher, the head of West German diplomacy. The dispute, it is said, arose because of the amount of the reimbursement which the government in Bonn is supposed to pay Romania for every German who emigrates. Bonn was supposedly willing to pay 10,000 marks "per head," while the Romanian side demanded twice as much. Nevertheless, a common language was at length found, and probably a price somewhere in the middle as well.

The Romanian Constitution guarantees equal rights to all citizens regardless of sex, nationality, religion, or age. In practice, however, the constitutional principles are not exactly placed in a full light. Minorities, for example, have been guaranteed the right to receive schooling in their native language. Instruction in elementary and secondary schools is given in the Romanian and native language depending on the subject. Everything is as it should be from the standpoint of formal law. However, the noticeable drop in the number of schools of the ethnic minorities on behalf of purely Romanian schools (which is usually equated abroad with forcible assimilation) is explained by official Bucharest in terms of the 1973 law, but that does not explain the law itself. Under the law the prescribed minimum for establishing classes in elementary schools is 25 pupils, while in secondary schools it is 36. Since the minorities mainly live in settlements with a population less than 1,000, it is difficult for them to attain that quota.

Token Participation

The languages of the ethnic minorities can still be heard in churches during the service, but instruction at university schools is exclusively in Romanian. This policy is justified in terms of the need to bring future specialists into Romanian society more easily. About 20 daily, weekly, and periodical newspapers and publications are published in the languages of the ethnic minorities. Even a cursory examination, however, gives one the impression that these newspapers are much more vehicles for official propaganda and policy than concerned with the real problems of the minorities. Finally, the minorities do not have their own broadcasting over the radio waves. Centralization of radio broadcasting has abolished all the radio stations, so that broadcasting today comes only from Radio Bucharest. Exclusively in the Romanian language, of course,

At the same time, what are called councils of the working people are concerned with the interests of the ethnic minorities as well. Information on the activity and

involvement of these councils in the exercise and protection of the rights of the ethnic minorities does not reach the Romanian public at all, much less the world public. Perhaps their true nature, role, and real tasks is best indicated by the datum that one of the rare communications had to do with the meetings of these councils at the beginning of the last year when full support was given to the positions of the Romanian leadership in its arguments with Budapest.

The minorities, it was said, have been guaranteed full employment in their specialty, and here there is no discrimination whatsoever. But the activity of the ethnic minorities, it is felt, is only insignificant and symbolic. Pushed back into the silence of the provinces, the minorities, it seems, have been on the margins of social events and are far from real participation in the country's public and political life.

The attitude toward ethnic minorities is not a constant, but is subject to the needs of the current policy governing relations and quite often depends on what is written and in what manner about Romania in the news media of the parent country. This is directly related to reciprocity in cultural exchange, local border traffic, unrestricted circulation of the press....

07045

YUGOSLAVIA

Possibilities for Multiparty System Reviewed
28000083 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
2 Feb 88 pp 7-9

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "The Party at the Crossroads"]

[Text] Recently, it seems the feeling which is very cleverly formulated, with a pinch of irony, in the aphorism that the "ongoing revolution needs a new push," a feeling that has long been intimately felt in the ordinary rank and file of the party, has also matured at the top of the party, so that even there individuals are now talking about a crisis opening up within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Actually, crisis is already breaking through at all the seams of the party's tight-fitting suit, but the seamstresses that are supposed to do the party patching differ greatly in their view of the "job assigned." Some are for acquiring an altogether new suit as similar as possible to the fashion in the Western world, others think back nostalgically to old times when there were intimate relations between a uniform and the decoration on it, and still others would undertake to renew our "specific" model, holding the thinnest of needles in boxing gloves.

As a consequence and visible sign of that inability to keep pace with our times, there have been increasingly frequent resignations from the party, and this can no longer be played down in assertions that this is a desirable voluntary purge (after all, such partings of the ways

are usually politically colored: those who are deserting the party at present are mainly withdrawing not because they are afraid of a battle, but in protest that the battle is not taking place), nor can it be said that this is only a sporadic phenomenon when—as Prof Srdjan Vrcan recently said, in a city with a population of 200,000, 3 people are turning in their party card every day. At the same time, young people are showing less and less interest in tying their own destiny somehow to the party, so that in many secondary schools today there are many fewer party members than there were members of SKOJ before the war. In a situation when the inflow is dropping off and the outflow is increasing, ominous forecasts are already being heard, the party is threatened with the danger of death from natural causes, from its own organism wearing out. It thus might experience the fate foreseen for the state by optimistically disposed Marxists: that it would simply wither away. But the fright in the face of this possibility is taken all but as desecration of an altar, as though the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, regardless of its historical achievements, were nevertheless not just a political party which is supposed to guarantee the achievement of certain historical interests, but also the short-term interests, of the workers and citizens, and which confirms its meaning and purpose as it succeeds in that vanguard role. After all, it is presumably not the people that exist for the sake of the party, even written with a big P, but rather it exists on behalf of the people.

What Kind of Strengthening

Of course, the more than 2 million members of the LCY, about 10 percent of the population, cannot be brought so quickly to such a low point that they are threatened even with disappearance from the historical scene. But in certain crisis or conflict situations that force—as has already happened in certain other countries—can melt away very quickly. If today there is already talk about refusing to allow history and memory to be the only place where the party exists, if its disposal in the lumber room of history is being refused, this is not only because many traumas would result if it were brought down from its pedestal. Nor is it solely because of its past, but rather because of our future. In the end there is no other force in Yugoslavia that could wrench the country out of the fatal clutch of the crisis. Regardless of all its limitations and all the blockades, regardless of all the ballast and incompetence, regardless of the contradictions tearing it apart, regardless of all the manipulation attempted in its name and from within its ranks, manipulation which compromises it, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is still the meeting point of the greatest social force, determination, and ability to change things. To be sure, those progressive forces which it possesses are now mostly exhausting themselves in wrestling with those dogmatic, conservative, and repressive forces which also have a strong point of support in the League of Communists (if they were only outside the party, they would not be so dangerous and powerful), instead of applying their energies and abilities to building a constructive program

for getting out of the crisis. To that extent the attempts to adapt the party to the needs of this time, to make it capable and strong, should be seen as an investment in our own future and a clearing of the path for a way out of the crisis.

But still it is not possible to countersign just any strengthening of the party, just any bolstering regardless of the reasons and the methods by which it is achieved, regardless of the kind of organization that is built and regardless of where that strengthening leads. It is a matter of some moment that its present utter entropy be replaced by strength, but the kind of strengthening this will be, the kind of strength the party will have, and whose strength will be in it is a matter of at least equal importance. According to certain recent surveys, two-thirds of the respondents think that the party honors most the interests of the leaders and managers and accordingly is not the vanguard of the working class, but of the managerial stratum. But that strength of the leadership which up to now has had no reason to complain about its privileged position results in a party that is weak as a whole. So that the insistence on unity, which was our practice until recently and which has now been sobered by the realization of the price that is paid for it and the purposes it serves in some places and by the realization that it need not in every case be progressive to overcome disunity, is now formulated this way: Unity yes, but on what basis?

The Opening of Dilemmas

The party is at a crossroads, and the direction the entire society will take depends largely on the road it chooses. But by contrast with the tune of the *new primitivis*, in which there are two paths from the spring leading in two directions, here there are several roads from the crossroads, some of which would even include the political *new primitivis*. That is why some people look upon the party conference planned for this spring as an opportunity for certain things to happen in this regard (to be sure, there are also quite a few who interpret it as an opportunity for certain things not to happen, one of which would be an extraordinary congress). The opening up of the dilemmas to which the party must unfailingly respond post haste (and certainly the answer that is not forthcoming is a kind of answer) has also included the two successful conferences which have been held recently and which managed to be not merely a repetition of the party cogitation which has become frequent in recent years, in which the phraseology of crisis management is used merely to circle around the “black box” of the crisis, and people do not manage or do not even want to penetrate to its black heart. In Rijeka there was a discussion organized by the republic and city center for the ideological and theoretical effort based on three surveys concerning the social stratification of Yugoslav society concerning the influence of social division on the consciousness and activity of the League of Communists, and at the traditional Kardelj Days, held this year in Herceg Novi, there was discussion of “the pluralism of

interests and the prospects for development of Yugoslav society in the direction of self-management socialism." United not only by their ambition to concern themselves with the real questions, these two conferences can also be examined at one and the same time because the significant splintering of interests in Yugoslav society follows from its indubitable social division regardless of whether we think that this is a question of social strata or social classes.

The reminder of Kardelj's innovation concerning the "pluralism of interests," which was supposed to be our version of an answer to the fateful linkage between democracy and socialism and our way of overcoming one-party monopoly and still not succumb to the siren song of the multiparty system, may seem strange and out of place at the point when the splintering of society, the pluralism of interests, and the degree of conflict have reached their highest point and when everyone is pulling in his own direction. But the scientists say that this is largely an illusion: some speak about a simulation of a pluralism of interests, others, such as Ljubisa Mitrovic, for example, say that it has turned out that the relations among social and political forces are such as not to have allowed pluralism to have developed in the context of self-management, but rather it has been replaced and abused by the forces of polycentric statism, and Silvano Bolcic says that the system has never honored the line of the differentiation of society on the basis of interests. It seems that the party has now come to a crossroads where it must answer the question of whether the proclaimed pluralism of interests, and that also implies political pluralism, but not necessarily multiparty pluralism, can be brought about within it and through it, or will the party in the future, behaving like a typical holder of power and transforming all other sociopolitical organizations into its own transmission belts and not allowing their independence and partnership, actually place the order itself for the multiparty system.

Historical Experience

Both the single-party and multiparty systems have their faults and advantages. But even a year ago when Prof Eugen Pusic bravely put this question on the agenda of a conference, for the first time as far as we know, the scientists have ended every discussion of the possibility of introducing a multiparty system by rejection, even when they recognized that it had important advantages. However, surveys are showing that the population is not so reluctant. In certain earlier surveys one out of every three respondents was open to the possibility of adopting a multiparty system, and now it is one out of every two in certain places. That a priori aversion to the multiparty system, which Zoran Vidojevic has referred to as theoretical dogmatism that leads to many problems in both politics and strategy, has now been verbally overcome even in scientific circles at Herceg Novi.

But that refusal of the multiparty possibility and challenge, which a majority still says is not the way out of the political crisis or general crisis, continues to be justified

by historical experience, since under our conditions the multiparty system would actually signify creation of a plurality of ethnic and indeed even nationalistic parties, that is, it would lead—it is believed, to Krleza's Balkan alehouse in which the lights are out and people are pulling out knives. But if we consent to this interpretation, as Ivan Siber has warned, this signifies expression of "a total lack of confidence in this people and this working class and the greatest possible criticism of the activity of the League of Communists in the postwar period, since it means that it has been unable to create the prerequisites so that a possible political pluralism expressed in a multiparty system would not result in the prewar slaughter."

Incidentally, Kardelj's idea that it was possible for political pluralism to exist with a single party has experienced in our political practice a somewhat modified application which hardly squares with Kardelj's intentions. That is, recently there have been quite a few signs that within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia the limitations of the single-party system have been in a kind of symbiosis with many of the bad points of the multiparty system, while the advantages inherent in the latter have remained out of reach. The process of federalization of the party—and some people even talk about confederalization—has so deepened divisions that we can already say that we now have differing visions of the "road to socialism: from Eurocommunism to Enver Hoxha-ism, from Social Democracy to neo-Stalinism" (Nenad Kecmanovic). Or a kind of hybrid is being formed from that pluralistic diversity and one-party rigidity, something which Zoran Vidojevic calls "a historically 10th-rate multiparty aspect in the League of Communists and in the entirety of sociopolitical life or a kind of multiparty one-partyism."

Recalling Kardelj's insistence that sociopolitical organizations get out from under the skirts of the League of Communists and develop as independent forces, France Vreg judges that in this sense we can already talk about a kind of plurality of political entities in certain communities, in certain republics and provinces, in certain opstinas, and indeed even in the Federation. But in certain communities that model of political democracy is encountering very difficult and conflict situations. Thus whereas in certain communities it seems that constructive party programs and efforts to democratize political life are becoming reality, in others great dilemmas are occurring over whether that trend of openness and pluralization of political entities should be followed or whether things should be shut down, elements of integration strengthened on the basis of normative-legal norms, a demand issued for a strong League of Communists and repressive measures even adopted. The dilemma, then, says Vreg, is "how to build a model of highly developed democratic political organization and how to do this particularly in those communities which because of difficult economic, political, and social problems of crisis do not see the solution in terms of democratization of the political system. That is why today the political

dimension of the pluralism of self-management interests is taking on the significance of a conflict between two political conceptions, the highly developed pluralistic model of socialist democracy and the traditional sociopolitical organization, in some places even after the pattern of the statist-bureaucratic model."

There is no doubt that the economic, historical, cultural, and even indeed civilizational differences in our society are very great and that they must cast their shadow or emit their echo both in political life and indeed even in the way the party is organized. So probably neither the political forms nor methods of operation of the party can be the same in all communities, since what suits the underdeveloped perhaps does not suit those who have gone further in their development. Imposing identity and compelling uniformity broaden the circle of dissatisfaction on all sides. But, as Celestin Sardelic warned in Rijeka, at the level of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia there is no awareness of the importance of these differences even though this is one of the key issues of Yugoslav society. Even when they are spoken about, they are not taken all the way to their true consequences. After all, the party cannot operate in the same way in communities "where even the original phase of industrialization has not yet even been carried out, a phase which probably calls for the command-type behavior of the party, and in communities which are entering postindustrial society and where space must be opened up for the operation of modern productive forces and political democracy." It is probably evident that the present model of the party and the predominant methods of its activity, as Vladimir Goati says, are not suitable to the more highly developed communities from figures on the political attractiveness of the League of Communists in various communities. The conclusion can easily be drawn from a rough interpretation of the figures on the degree of representation of the people in the party that the south of Yugoslavia is more communist than the north, which certainly no one would contend. In any case, the party in Slovenia must respond to the issues and problems that arise in a community which is at a different level of material development and every other aspect of development than other communities, just as in Kosovo it must respond to the challenges brought by the socioeconomic and political situation there. So the suspicions toward initiatives that arise in particular communities, mutual suspicions and coerced uniformity, and indeed even sameness have the inevitable result that some people feel hampered, while others do not want what is offered to them, and all of this—as far as the party is concerned—condemns it to failure in all communities.

But even authentic respect for the pluralism of interests in self-management, which was supposed to be the Yugoslav way out of the single-party trap, a road that would avoid the temptation of the multiparty system, is still not a magic wand, and, as Vucina Vasovic mentions, it stops halfway, and if it is not supplemented by certain "complementary methods," it leads to a system in which

we have "summoned a force which we cannot control." That is why he pleads, since time is running out, for us to concern ourselves with what is essential in the present political system and moment, and that is "not only the excessively concentrated political power, but also the largely negative, and sometimes even destructive, effects of its operation." Vasovic says that a triple political dictate is evident even at first glance: the dictate of politics over society and the economy, the dictate of the party over politics, and the dictate of the elite and still more informal personalized packets of power which frequently operate within the party or in its name, under the aegis or under the skirts of the party, over the party rank and file and the party organization. The first two dictates have mostly been placed at the service of the third, that is, they have been bent to guarantee the primacy and rule of those quite small power centers, while the "entire so-called pluralism of interests in self-management" has been suspended like a clothes hanger from that political hierarchocracy. Frequently, the principal reason and motivation of that kind of government is the preservation and self-reproduction of its own political power.

The domination of politics and its practitioners over everything else that happens in society was also discussed in Rijeka in connection with the social stratification of Yugoslav society. Some of the scientists, with considerable caution to be sure, even mentioned the existence of a political class. There is hardly any doubt that Yugoslav society is divided into classes, but it is not yet quite certain how deep the lines of those divisions go. At the Rijeka conference this was sharpened to a point in the question—which was not answered—of whether one could speak of socialism at all if in Yugoslav society there is a class which is exploiting the workers.

The Yugoslav Communist Party is again at a crossroads. It has passed from monolithism into a phase of free expression of differences which quite often seem like a cacophonic din even to an ear that is not very sensitive; and this does not always occur spontaneously, but quite often is provoked or at least accentuated, rigged, exploited, and channeled from outside. Dusko Janjic even speaks about concealment of the class nature of the conflict in Yugoslav society. The Yugoslav community—if it is interested in its own future—must learn to live with its differences, and a competition among programs and a diversity of methods of operation have to follow as an inevitable offshoot of that pluralism. It is important that everyone choose the same road at the crossroads, but it is almost inevitable that some will stride faster along it and others more slowly. After all, even now everyone has not been going at the same pace. But if everyone takes the same road, the distance will never be so great as it would be if everyone leaves the crossroads in a different direction, the way crabs scatter. As Jovica Trkulja says, there evidently exist in Yugoslavia widely differing interests which, heated up by the crisis, are every day growing to become a larger and larger balloon of social dissatisfaction that has difficulty

expressing itself through the present restricted legitimate canals of the political system, so that the danger of social conflicts and explosion is quite real. He therefore feels that there has to be a radical innovation of the political system the backbone of which would be a pluralistic and democratic coalition of autonomous political forces representing socialism. Others, recalling Montesquieu's thought that power can be limited only by counterpower, feel that it is increasingly necessary to set up some counterpower in the framework of autonomous political

organizations that would not be subject to party tutelage, and yet others speak about the need for "democratic control" and a "healthy opposition." In any case, as Silvano Bolcic says, we do not live in a time in which we can do without a political organization like the League of Communists, but we do live in a time in which we cannot go any further with this kind of party.

07045

POLAND

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 'Briefs' Column

Last Week in Poland

26000195b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 5, 31 Jan 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

Reform Committee Meets—The Council of Ministers Committee on Implementation of Reform reviewed issues related to placing certain state enterprises under the control of state administrative bodies and a bill on the issuance of bonds.

Electoral Rules Change Proposed—Keeping in mind the results of public discussion, the Council of State has decided to propose further changes in electoral law for the people's councils. The main thrust of these proposals is further democratization of electoral law. The Council of State sent to the Sejm a bill on amendments to electoral rules for the people's councils.

Patent Office Statistics—In 1987 the Patent Office issued 5,997 decisions on inventions submitted and 2,045 on useable models. In total there were 5,252 favorable decisions. Individual inventors are applying more readily for protection of their work (a 15.3 percent increase). Of the total number of submissions nationally last year, investors from enterprises, mainly from industry, comprised 40.7 percent (40 percent the previous year), and from scientific and research sources 47.6 percent (previously 49.5 percent).

Statistics on Clergy—TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (Nos 3 and 4, 1988) has published statistics on the clergy in Poland (as of 20 October 1987). In 1987 there were 9,038 seminarians (5,845 in 1979), including 5,859 diocesan and 3,179 monastic seminarians (4,179 and 1,666 respectively in 1979). Przemysl diocese had the most seminarians (429). Next were Krakow (407), Lublin (364), Katowice (336) and Warsaw (334). The total number of priests in Poland in 1987 was 23,432 (20,198 in 1979), including 17,726 diocesan (15,305 in 1979) and 5,706 monastic priests (4,895 in 1979).

Qualifications Committee Chairman Named—Former minister of Higher Education and Training Benon Miskiewicz has been named chairman of the Central Committee for Academic Personnel Qualifications for 1988-1990.

Government Price-Income Position—In connection with the position adopted by the OPZZ and the Main Council of the KZRKiOR, the Government Press Office has issued two statements presenting the government's final position on these matters.

Defense Spending Down—As noted by Stanislaw Gucwa, chairman of the Sejm National Defense Committee, expenditures for defense in 1988 are 30 billion zloty, or 5.4 percent, less than would be anticipated from the terms of the five year plan. Their share of national income has been decreased to less than 4 percent and, as in previous years, they tend to be less than expenditures for health care and education.

12776

Ideological Justifications for Reform Reviewed, Other Questions Posed

26000196a Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 7, 14 Feb 88 p 12

[Text] For quite a while now political and economic issues have dominated discussions concerning economic reform. The first issue chiefly concerned matters relating to worker self-management as well as the role and function of the so-called central management. The second concerned fiscal mechanisms. It has only been several months since the basic theoretical and ideological questions have come to the forefront. I do not wish to create the impression by using the adjective "basic" that I consider the socio-political or mechanism problems to be any less important. Quite the contrary, their solution will determine the success of reform proposals. Normally, however, it happens that practical solutions are based upon central theoretical fundamentals. When this is lacking, only a method of experiments and mistakes remains, this method is especially expansive in the social and economic sectors.

The theory slowly begins to compensate for lost ground, even though currently the situation with regard to compensation is quite unique. It is being achieved almost exclusively through press publications, and polemics are taking place in the newspapers and periodicals. There is, however, a lack of more fundamental literary works which deal in a new manner with such questions as types of ownership under socialism, the plan and the market, monopoly and competition under socialism, etc. In order to be in agreement with the truth, I must add that in previous years several theoretical or theorizing views have appeared (for ex. Prof B. Minec, Prof T. Kalita, Prof W. Wilczynski, and others), but they have passed without making a great impression.

Currently, in several periodicals (this includes ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE) a lively discussion is taking place, its characteristic being the rejection of many dogmas concerning the socialist economy as well as reevaluation or experimentation with a new approach to numerous ideological problems. A vital role in this discussion is played by articles in NOWE DROGI, both because of their substance as well as due to the fact that they are published by the PZPR Central Committee theoretical organ. Recently an article by Marcin Swiecicki entitled "Economic Reform and Government Principles,"

appeared in this publication. He notes in the introduction that certain theses of the second phase of reform have elicited concern on the part of some activists and scholars, as expressed in the question: Will this still be socialism? On the other hand, it demonstrates that neither increased wealth in public properties, independence of enterprises, wage differences, or even the development of the private sector will threaten socialism in our country. I agree with Marcin Siecicki's general thesis, although certain specific proposals or statements contained in the article can arouse doubts. For example, this concerns the role of holding companies as founding organs and joint stock companies as the common form of enterprise. In this review, however, I am not concerned with this.

Marcin Swiecicki's article is a good example of a certain broader thesis. These materials of a theoretical and ideological nature which have been published recently are stressing either the harmony between economic reform and socialism (or in other words, placing it within the principles of this system), or even much less frequently demonstrating quite the opposite. There is, however, much less theoretical evidence concerning the success of specific solutions. In my opinion, this is especially necessary, and not only in debates with dogmatists.

In order to be better understood, I will give a certain example. I am concerned with the role of profits, a role which after all determines the activity of the market mechanism. Does profit play the same role in a socialized self-managing and self-financing enterprise as in a capitalist enterprise? Can we place an equal sign between the attempt to maximize long-term profits (capitalist system) with the attempt to maximize (also long-term) wages as occurs in a socialized enterprise? These are questions for theorists, but also questions of great practical importance.

12229/9738

Ministry of Labor and Social Policy Order on Occupational Shortages
26000204 Warsaw *MONITOR POLSKI* in Polish
No 37, 29 Dec 87 pp 508-509

[Order No 312 of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy dated 24 November 1987 on personnel shortages in designated occupations; table of occupational shortages]

[Text] Based on sec 14 par 2 and 3 of Council of Ministers Order dated 7 March 1983 on earnings or other income obtained by persons entitled to annuities or pensions (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1985, No 40, item 197; 1986, No 9, item 47, and No 33, item 158; and 1987, No 26, item 144), it is ordered as follows:

Sec 1. A list of occupational shortages is established which constitutes an annex to the order. The list covers those occupations which, when performed by annuitants and pensioners on a part-time basis, will not be cause for suspension of the annuity or pension.

Sec 2. The order of the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Welfare dated 17 September 1986 on occupational shortages (*MONITOR POLSKI*, No 29, item 212), is no longer in effect.

Sec 3. The order is in effect on the date of publication.

/signed/ Minister of Labor and Social Policy: J. Pawlowski

Annex to order of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy dated 24 November 1987, (item 312).

List of Occupational Shortages

I. Blue-Collar Occupations

1. Miners and related occupations
2. Metallurgists and related
3. Lathe operators
4. Workers employed in chemical production and related
5. Workers employed in the production of building materials and related
6. Workers employed in the production of textiles and related
7. Workers employed in the production of garments and related
8. Leather workers and related
9. Construction workers and related
10. Printers and related
11. Workers employed in the operation of railroad rolling stock and related
12. Workers employed in the operation of road transportation rolling stock and equipment and related
13. Typists, communication workers and related
14. Machinery and equipment mechanics
15. Machinery and equipment assemblers
16. Rescue-equipment maintenance workers and related
17. Fixed-equipment mechanics and related
18. Electric-power workers
19. Wiremen (electrical)
20. Mechanics (electrical)
21. Carpenters and cabinetmakers
22. Millers and related
23. Bakers and related
24. Butchers
25. Longshoremen
26. Crane mechanics and related
27. Heavy- and mechanized-equipment operators
28. Road and track machinery equipment mechanics and related
29. Forestry and nursery workers and related
30. Lumbermen
31. Guards and watchmen
32. Stokers

33. Salesmen
34. Musical instrument tuners
35. Orthopedists
36. Masseurs
37. Unskilled workers
38. Workers employed in direct-production occupations in disabled-person cooperatives and cooperatives for the blind

II. White-Collar Occupations

1. Doctors and dentists employed in the public health service
2. Biologists, chemists and physicists employed in the public health service
3. Medical technicians, nurses and related, and social workers employed in the public health service
4. Construction engineers and technicians
5. Electrical, architectural and environmental engineers
6. Geodetic engineers and technicians
7. Teachers (including college)
8. Tourism specialists
9. Organization and management economists
10. Translators
11. Special-education teachers
12. Patent agents
13. Bookkeepers, cashiers and accounting service employees
14. Airplane and helicopter pilots
15. Warehousemen
16. Typists

9295

Attempt To Measure Industrial Efficiency Reported

26000196b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 5, 31 Jan 88 p 12

[Text] The second phase of reform is directed toward improved efficiency as the basic source for increased production and improvement in satisfying consumer needs. Greatly simplifying the matter we can say that those who improve efficiency should prosper and those who do not will not do so well. In order to achieve this, numerous mechanisms have been and are being implemented. It is mainly concerning them that specialized discussions are continuing. On the other hand, much less attention has been devoted up until now to the seemingly technical problem, which is of immense practical importance. Specifically, this concerns how changes in efficiency can be measured and how they can be compared. The discussion concerning the "list of 500 firms" indicated how complicated a question this is with regard to the enterprises. The complexity grows the moment that one attempts to carry out an evaluation and comparison of the individual branches of industry.

We can say that measuring the efficiency of entire branches of industry, although very interesting, does not have as much practical significance as an evaluation of

the efficiency of individual enterprises. The latter include specific stimuli and mechanisms and are not directed at whole branches of industry. I believe, however, that this is not an accurate opinion, even if only from the point of view that efficiency must be one of the criteria for accomplishing structural changes in industry.

The problem of measuring efficiency in individual branches of industry was discussed by Andrzej Karpinski in issue #10 of GOSPODARKA PLANOWA. He is well aware of the difficulties accompanying the development of appropriate indicators, both methodologic as well as those resulting from irregular cost proportions, a high rate of inflation, numerous formal price establishing rights of individual branches, etc. Assuming that as he writes "A lack of knowledge represents a greater danger than a little knowledge," he has developed 22 measures of efficiency, given them a certain numerical value and attempted on this basis to formulate a classification list for 23 branches of industry. He cautions that these are initial results which must still be verified by other means.

Remembering all the weaknesses and possible distortions it is worthwhile, however, to look at this efficiency chart for our industries, particularly since we have no other. The printing industry is in first place as being the most efficient, and the transportation industry is in last place. Also at the top are the following: precision, ceramic whiteware, nonferrous metals, and electrotechnical industries; while the chemical power, construction materials, and coal industries are at the bottom.

The author is so perfidious or perhaps circumspect that after announcing his list he immediately undermines it. He indicates that we must take into consideration the use of contracted prices in 4 of the first 5 branches. He also notes that the first place position held by the printing industry can also arouse doubts because the high marks were earned, obvious to all, through poorer quality, longer cycles, etc., together with very difficult to evaluate but certainly very high price increases (yes, definitely—a postscript by S.C. the author). In order to be fair we must add, however, that this industry exhibits a high level and constant improvement in the utilization of production assets, improved use of materials, and a decrease in subsidies. The great number of overtime hours represents one weakness.

The high level of efficiency of the remaining branches mentioned was determined by a rapid increase in output efficiency and extensive participation in technologic-organizational advancement (precision and electrotechnical industry), advantageous relations between cost increases and sold production (ceramic whiteware), improved earning capacity and proper utilization of production assets (nonferrous metallurgy).

The author, however, sees the situation in the transportation industry as unsettling. This industry has the highest energy-intensive factor, a high absentee rate and

many hours of overtime, a rise in debts and subsidies together with a large increase in wages, not justified either by production growth or an increase in output efficiency.

As is obvious from these examples, familiarization with the already mentioned chart can be very edifying. This does not concern the somewhat impartial emotions which can emerge by finding one's place on the efficiency list, but rather a straightforward analysis of the reasons which bring about this placement on the list. The series of indicators proposed by Andrzej Karpinski can facilitate such an analysis and also encourage in-depth efficiency studies. The answer to the question: How should one measure it? is not yet very clear or precise.

12229/9738

Changes Urged in Rules for Companies With Foreign Capital, 'Debt-for-Cash Swap'
26000174a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
22 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Tomasz Bartoszewicz: "Let's Be Realistic"]

[Text] Just recently, companies using foreign capital represented a very controversial subject. Voices resounded from all sides warning about "giving Poland away to foreigners" for foreign capital. Currently, it has been over a year and a half since the law went into effect, and emotions have subsided. Thus, it appears that this is not as terrible an evil as it was made out to be.

Above all, it is very obvious that we are not threatened with a dollar inundation. Foreign firms are very careful and are in no hurry to invest. In our case, an additional factor which deters them from committing their capital is the payment problem faced by Poland.

Two Hundred Million Dollars

According to data of the Ministry of Economic Cooperation with the West (MWGZ), the aggregate value of investments declared by the 13 companies which received permission to undertake production in Poland by the end of 1987, totals approximately 200 million dollars. This is not very much, nonetheless somewhat more than was predicted initially. Among the foreign participants there are four companies renowned worldwide. Two of them, the U.S. firm Marriott and the Austrian firm Illbau, have gone into partnership with LOT and are completing the construction of a municipal airline terminal in Warsaw, which will then be operated by LIM (the name of the company is derived from the first letter of the names of the partners) for 25 years. Hanna-Barbera has invested in the production of animated films, or in other words in a field in which it is an international giant. Its Polish partner are the Animated Film Studio from Bielsko-Biala and Warsaw's WFD. Lastly, the list is completed by the British firm ICL, which will finance the manufacture of computers and

furniture. Therefore, the fears of those who voiced concern that "the large companies would not come" have not materialized. Quite the opposite, the large firms operating on a worldwide scale are more inclined to take a risk than the small and medium-size firms which are more likely to be affected by economic fluctuations.

Another prediction did not materialize. To date, large West German companies are not on the list, and after all it was quite universally presumed that they would be the first to undertake investments in Poland. This reticence on the part of West German capital is after all quite surprising, especially if one takes into account that West Germany is our second (after the Soviet Union) trade partner.

In the opinion of some observers, one of the reasons for this state of affairs is the lack of incentive on the part of the West German government to invest in Poland. Perhaps, the situation will change following the conclusion of a currently negotiated agreement with West Germany concerning mutual support and protection of investments. At that time, companies investing in Poland will be able to benefit from West German government guarantees.

Amendments to the Law

A proposal for amendments to the April 1986 law was worked out by the MWGZ which would regulate the operation of companies with foreign participation. This project stipulates the introduction of privileges patterned after solutions applied in other socialist countries.

The need for amendments, above all, results from the fact that in the opinion of foreign firms and international organizations (among others, UNIDO, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization) the laws that are in effect in Poland have created less than favorable conditions for foreign capital than in other socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

Among other things, this concerns the taxation of profits. It is much higher (50 percent) than in other countries. In addition, the April 1986 law guarantees tax exemption only for the first 2 years of operation, while at the same time tax exempt status in Hungary is 5 years.

The proposal developed by the MWGZ stipulates extending tax exempt status to 3 years, with the possibility of prolonging this period for another 3 years provided investment activity by the companies will involve branches of industry recognized by the government as being of priority status for Polish economic development, and will be carried out equitably in areas recognized as being "underinvested" (for example Bialystok province). The intention is to withdraw from the requirements of majority participation by Polish capital

in the partnership, leaving behind those questions for contractual settlement among the partners. Already, a majority of the remaining socialist nations have abandoned these requirements.

Nowhere, besides in Poland are companies with foreign capital obligated to sell a portion of their currency obtained through export of their goods. This formula evokes many reservations from potential investors, who treat this requirement as a type of additional tax to be paid in foreign currency.

The amendment proposal also foresees simplification in several other fields and broadens the circle of Polish industries which will be authorized to establish partnerships with foreign firms.

Conversion of Debts

A new idea is the possibility of converting capital shares for debts incurred by our country. This type of development is already being employed on a rather large scale by certain Latin American nations.

According to MWGZ experts, these operations are allowable in light of laws in effect in our country. Andrzej Dorosz, Deputy Minister of Finance, also mentioned this in his speech for the Agence-France Presse (AFP) during his recent visit to Paris.

In order for the conversion of some of our liabilities to foreign creditors for capital shares to be technically accomplished, however, it is necessary to develop a specific mode of operation for this type of situation. This would permit interested foreign partners a closer examination of the situation.

There is a Need for Realism

Existing studies collected during the first 18 months of the existence of the law governing partnerships with foreign firms allow for the fulfillment of an initial summary. Above all, it appears that the conditions offered to foreign investors are not sufficiently attractive. This results in capital influx which is much too modest. We must be realistic. Poland will never be a Hong Kong, or even a Luxembourg. In the world economy there exists today quite a massive shortage of investment capital. The governments of individual Western nations prefer domestic investment, and are guided, among other things, by the situation on the labor market.

We can, however, count on the interest of those firms which have cooperated with our country for years and see in the partnership, above all, a guarantee for maintaining their existing position on the market. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake whatever activity is necessary so as to bring this interest to fruition.

12229/7310

Case Studies Show Foreign Loans Ease Machine Stock Disinvestment, Aid Exports

26000174b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Jan Markusz: "Universal": A Recipe for Dynamic Export"]

[Text] The machine stock in Polish factories is aging. This has been obvious for a while. But how can we remedy this?

This question has been worrisome to the Universal Foreign Trade Enterprise management and over 50 associates who recognized the main reason for the collapse of exports from 1981 to 1984, especially on the hard currency market, as being machine stock disinvestment. They also realized that the situation with domestic machinery was and continues to be difficult. Even more difficult is the situation with foreign currency for the import of modern machinery and equipment since government hard currency funds are extremely small. Whereas, ROD accounts (retained hard currency allowance) which are currently considered property and are at the disposal of individual firms are not as a rule designated for investment purchases, but rather for much-needed raw materials, subassemblies, and spare parts for production.

Perhaps we could take advantage of the opportunities presented by bank credits and foreign customer loans, which would later be repaid through additional export production. This has been done, even though the results of the method of repayment launched in the 1970's are rather discouraging. Today it is harder than ever to obtain foreign bank credits. The Polish Trade Bank and the newly established Export Development Bank are only able to provide a portion of the hard currency credits necessary for investment needs.

The adopted program of investments based on bank credits and loans from foreign clients is already beginning to produce results.

A Breath of Modernity

Can this be illustrated with examples? "Yes," replies Włodzimierz Peredery, director of the Universal Foreign Trade Enterprise export department. "Quite a few have already been collected."

Something more important is being noted:

A condition for the Bydgoszcz "Romet" factory to remain on foreign markets was the need for a radical improvement in the quality of bicycles manufactured. Therefore, an assembly line for assembling wheels, equipment for bicycles frames, as well as a special polishing machine for polishing rim welds was purchased at a cost of one million dollars. As a result, "Romet" products have become competitive on foreign

markets. In addition, those bicycles which find themselves on the domestic market represent a much higher quality level than previously. This year more machinery has been purchased for "Romet" at a cost of 650,000 dollars, which will permit increased exports of bicycles to 1.2 million dollars annually to hard currency countries.

Universal contracted with foreign firms for an assembly line for forming and welding ovens, as well as special equipment to mold kitchen fixtures for the Heating Equipment Factory "Wromet" in Wronki, which specializes in the manufacture of electric and gas kitchen equipment, for a total cost of 4.6 million dollars. Thanks to both these purchases, the quality of "Wromet" kitchens will be much higher and exports will increase annually by at least 2.5 million dollars.

The Wroclaw "Aspa" firm will in turn receive a modern assembly line for the manufacture of an engine rotor which is greatly needed, among others, by the Radom "Lucznik" firm.

In addition, a contract was obtained with foreign firms for a substantial amount of investment equipment for the Rzeszow "Zelmer" factory. A new line for the manufacture of small engines, a shortage of which has seriously limited existing production capabilities of related production plants, was purchased. This is not all; in addition, a dowelling machine for carrying out fine details as well as injection molding machines for plastics were purchased. The total cost was 2.8 million dollars, but this was made possible for "Zelmer", after all, one of the main exporters, through an increase in the sale of its goods on foreign markets as well as on domestic markets.

Cited examples do not deplete, the fact is obvious that the list of investment ventures are being realized by "Universal partners quite extensively. They allow for a better understanding of the reality of these ventures, especially the influence on modernizing technology, increased production, and better quality goods.

A Planned Image Until the Year 2000

Do these activities have an effect on accelerating exports? Yes. With regard to this, none at "Universal" have any doubts. There is great emphasis, however, on the initiative of the partners (among others, "Zelmer", "Lucznik", Paris Commune industrial firm, and also "Romet" in Bydgoszcz) whose export results after all, serve as the basis for joint achievements. An indisputable fact is that beginning with 1985 the dynamics of goods exported by "Universal" to hard currency markets have picked up momentum. In 1986, it rose over 1/4, and last year by approximately 1/3, this year at least a 15 percent increase is planned.

Therefore, Ryszard Kotowski, Universal's economic-trade director, has stated that we have no intention whatsoever of stopping our efforts in obtaining additional bank credits and loans from foreign partners for modernization investments. Quite the contrary, we want to enrich the programs in this area. With this very idea in mind we have begun to bring about changes in the organizational model at "Universal". In place of the current economic-trade department we have created a development department. We cannot, however, as in the past confine ourselves to purchases resulting from current factory needs. On the other hand, together with our partners we must obtain through hard work programs whose fulfillment will result in an improvement in export efficiency. These should be multi-phase programs.

In phase I predicted for 1988-1990, we intend to concentrate on achieving modernization projects which guarantee the acquisition of rapid export results.

In phase II predicted for 1991-1995, we will in turn be concerned with long-term investments which will allow not only for increased production of goods for export but also for the domestic market. I do not conceal the fact that we would also like to have domestic trade organizations assist in the fulfillment of this program.

Phase III, encompassing the years 1996-2000 should in turn take into account modernization ventures which result from prognoses shaped on foreign markets by the demand for new goods.

Export growth in the near future and in the long-term perspective should, after all, be based on a gradually productive factory modernization base.

It is a wonder that the method for rejuvenating machine stock, chosen by "Universal" and its partners with the assistance of credits and foreign loans regulated on the basis of hard currency repayment, finds very few imitators among us.

Perhaps this requires much work and inventiveness. Without this, however, the counted on export results could still be even more difficult.

12229/7310

**Solutions Offered on Use of Polonia Investments,
Legal Issues Noted**
*26000173 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
18 Jan 88 p 4*

[Article by Professor Zbigniew Dobosiewicz: "Remarks on Policy Regarding 'Polonia' Capital"]

[Text] Discussions concerning foreign investments in Poland have continued for quite a while; however, only recently have they acquired a more practical meaning.

We can presume that real opportunities have emerged for achieving a quantitative and qualitative turning point with regard to economic reform.

One of the essential fragments of this issue concerns Polonia investments. In general, the tendency to separate matters concerning the influx of foreign capital and Polonia capital into Poland would be absurd. On the other hand, there exist specifics for Polonia investments. In many areas there are no Polonia investments and in practice will be none, and at the same time in many others they can dominate or even constitute the entire foreign investment capital.

Capabilities

The potential size of Polonia investments in Poland are determined, among other things, by actual Polonia financial capabilities. Polonia includes a dozen or so millions of people (in actual estimates we frequently note about 13 million). The majority of them live in wealthy countries, which in a very obvious manner defines Polonia's financial capabilities. Existing studies on Polonia, carried out in a fragmentary and often haphazard manner, do not give the precise amount of investment capital obtained by Polonia. With great approximation we can estimate them at 80 percent higher than the Polish national income.

The social composition of Polonia is subject to rapid changes, both as a result of the evolution of the old emigration as well as the influx of the new emigration. However, a large part of Polonia are blue-collar. Approximately 50,000 enterprises belong to Polonia, however, this includes only several hundred large and medium-size enterprises. Fragmentary studies indicate that American Polonia in particular has large personal savings at its disposal. They are, however, dispersed, and difficult to channel, all the more so because (as opposed to those issuing from Italy and China) there are no large or medium-size Polonia banks. This role cannot be accomplished by the often well-functioning credit unions and loan associations.

Polonia's existing financial situation influences its possible forms of capital influx. Simply, it decreases the capability for direct production investments by Polonia enterprises, at the same time increasing other forms of interest concerning capital influx.

Therefore, we can ascertain that Polonia has at its disposal substantial capital (for example very large in comparison with the size of our trade with the West). In reality only a small amount of this capital can be utilized to accomplish our economic goals, but with modest and efficient efforts on the part of the Polish economy, they could play a vital role as one of the factors involved in accelerating economic growth.

Our existing experiences in seeking out Polonia capital are very modest. The government's incompetence, lack of ideas for economic development, reluctance towards the "new", conflict in the outlook on the role of the private sector, etc., have caused the majority of existing opportunities not to be taken advantage of. The fulfillment program on the second phase of economic reform foresees complex and bold changes in economic relations with foreign nations. Issues relating to Polonia investments are general, however, and only the implementation of partial solutions are anticipated (this results undoubtedly in part from the inability of specific discussion in a relatively short document with regard to all issues contained within). This, however, creates the danger for the adoption of partial solutions, which do not change the substance of the problem, not removing the most important obstacles which impede and basically obstruct a growth in Polonia investments.

It is worthwhile to note that for obvious reasons the changes to be implemented within the scope of so-called joint ventures (partnerships involving foreign participation) are defined very precisely. In reality, Polonia has very little interest in this very form of investment. Therefore, for a positive evaluation of the predicted changes it is necessary to step outside their scope as outlined in the "Program".

Polonia Firms

Up until now, the only area in which serious efforts were undertaken towards attracting Polonia investments has been in the establishment of so-called Polonia firms, or light industry foreign firms (approximately 2/3 of them belong to Polonia families). Currently there are approximately 700 firms, with a significant number being involved in manufacturing. The first Polonia firms were established in 1976. The publication of a suitable law in 1982 elicited great interest on the part of Polonia capital in this type of endeavor.

This law was evaluated positively, despite the fact that it did not regulate many of the most important matters. Unfortunately, a number of changes in regulations (the greatest changes were already implemented in 1983), among others, concerning taxes and the transfer of profits, rapidly disillusioned potential investors in committing greater capital investments. In many instances there has also been a liquidation of firms by their owners. It appears that the only practical solution is a return to the system of taxes and calculation of hard currency revenues adopted in 1982 together with the accompanying removal of barriers which until now have precluded a broader influx of Polonia capital.

One of the most important barriers is the non-regulation of ownership of the property on which the factories are built. In accordance with the existing laws, Polonia firms cannot own the property. They can sign lease contracts,

yet according to the regulations in effect each agreement, even long-term ones, can be dissolved 6 months before the lease expires. All properties then pass on to the owner of the property.

There can be two solutions to this problem:

One, by authorizing foreign firms to purchase land. Secondly, by establishing actual guarantees governing lease contracts (this contract could be dissolved by one of the parties after paying the other party an agreed upon fine).

Until the ownership of property or property lease issue is resolved, there will not be larger foreign investments in Poland (aside from the joint-ventures in which this question is of a different form).

The second problem concerns allowing investors to earn sufficiently high profits. If we want to greatly increase Polonia capital influx into Poland, then we must guarantee their owners the opportunity to earn sufficiently high net profits and to enable them to take a portion of the profits out of the country in hard currency (in connection with exports).

In my opinion, the assurance of these conditions, and also the modification of the many regulations concerning, among other things, monetary matters, would create conditions favorable towards Polonia undertaking greater investment activity.

Tourist investments, in my opinion, are very attractive. They would allow Poland's economy to obtain the benefits associated with a greater than currently existing influx of foreign tourists. It is worthwhile to note that, in practice, existing regulations concerning taxation, currency transfers, and land ownership preclude the achievement of Polonia investments in this area on a broader scale.

An entire group of Polonia investments, which conventionally can be called housing investments are related to this issue. It is estimated that a large number of persons of Polish descent would be inclined to live in Poland following their retirement. This is due both to attachment to Poland, as well as to the low cost of living. We can consider building retirement villages, which of course would not be limited to retirees, using the example of numerous other countries. This would guarantee a very large influx of hard currency, which among other things, would contribute to solving the material supply issue for the Polish housing construction industry. A condition for Polonia retirees to take advantage of the opportunity to purchase apartments and homes in Poland however, means a change in the hard currency regulations which would enable them to retain their rights to their entire retirement funds in hard currency. Only in this case will they have real guarantees for

benefitting from the consumer goods to which they are accustomed (so-called supplemental purchases in Pewex stores and through mail-order firms).

The development of Polonia enterprises and the increase in another type of capital transfer also necessitates a decisive change in the functioning of the credit-fiscal policy. The existing system is ineffective. It has been unable to even bring about Polonia money transfers to accounts of families and friends in Polonia through the use of banks (up until now, the dominant form of transfer has been "from hand to hand").

Changes should not, however, be limited to these transfers. The establishment of such a system is important, since it would allow for the mobilization of dispersed Polonia capital. On the one hand, this necessitates decisive improvement in bank operations (perhaps establishing a Polonia bank with mixed capital), and on the other hand, creating opportunities for Polish businessmen to establish foreign capital enterprises which would issue stocks and bonds, as well as facilitating foreign bank credits.

It is worthwhile to note that a significant portion of the issues presented have already been solved or will shortly be solved in certain other socialist countries, among others, the People's Republic of China, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.

Value of Production and Services

—The value of the sale of goods and services of all Polonia firms totals 154,760,000 zlotys;

—Of those 50 of the largest firms total 58,839,000 zlotys;

—They employ 61,562 workers;

—Of those, the 50 largest employ 14,416 persons;

—Polonia firms manufacture food, cosmetics, electronic goods, wood, chemical, medical, and pharmaceutical goods, they carry out trade as evidenced by construction services.

Foreign Trade by Polonia Firms

Exports

—Exports total approximately 5.4 percent of sales;

—Of the 50 largest firms this comes to 7.6 percent;

—Exports to hard currency countries total 35 million U.S.dollars;

—For the 50 largest firms the total is 14.6 million U.S. dollars;

—Exports to socialist countries total 11.7 million rubles;

—The total for the 50 largest firms is 1.5 million rubles;

—The Poznan firm "Interagra" (food articles and cosmetics) is the largest exporter to the West with exports totaling 1,584,000 U.S. dollars;

—Warsaw's "Plastomed" firm (medical supplies and pharmaceuticals) is the largest exporter to socialist nations with exports totaling 9,124,000 rubles.

Imports

—Imports from the West total 33.5 million U.S. dollars;

—Of this the 50 largest firms import 12.4 million U.S. dollars;

—Imports from socialist countries total 2 million rubles;

—The total for the 50 largest firms is 1.5 million rubles.

Polonia Profits

—Gross profits earned by all Polonia firms total 38,094,000 zlotys;

—Of this total, the 50 largest firms earn 14,546,000 zlotys;

—Net profits (among other things, after calculating sales tax and income tax) total 26,772,000 zlotys;

—Of this total, the 50 firms earn 8,886,000 zlotys.

Average Monthly Salaries

—In the 50 largest Polonia firms the total is 35,329 zlotys;

—The largest salaries among the largest firms are at Warsaw's "Starcom" (electronics), employing 27 workers, at an average monthly salary of 64,180 zlotys;

—The lowest salaries in the group of 50 firms (data is unavailable for all firms) are at "Damari" in Bielsko-Biala (clothing and agricultural machinery) employing 481 employees at 20,280 zlotys.

Investment Expenditures

—Investments for all Polonia firms total 11,625,000 zlotys;

—In the 50 largest firms the total is 4,242,000 zlotys.

Note: The data originates from the publication ZAR-ZADZANIE of December 1987 and encompasses 1986. It represents a staff study.

12229/7310

10

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